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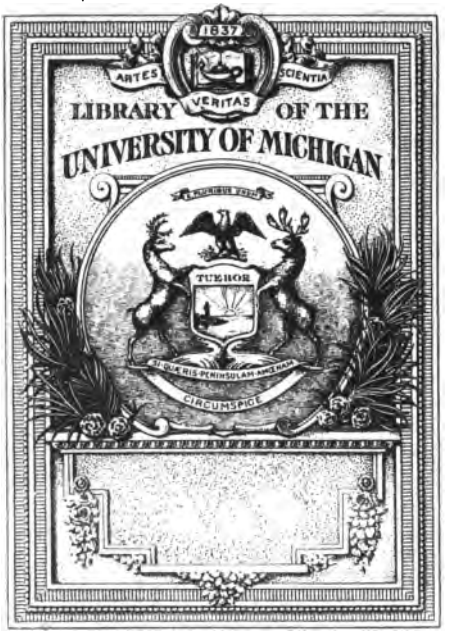

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ANTIQUE GEM FOUND AT BABYLON.

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TRAVELS

IN

CHALDÆA,

INCLUDING

A JOURNEY FROM BUSSORAH TO BAGDAD,

HILLAH, AND BABYLON,

PERFORMED ON FOOT IN 1827.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITES AND REMAINS OF

BABEL, SELEUCIA, AND CTESIPHON.

BY CAPT. ROBERT MIGNAN,

OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE;

Lately in command of the Escort attached to the Political Resident in Turkish Arabia, and Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SOMERSET,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS, BY PERMISSION,

INSCRIBED,

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT, AND

SINCERE GRATITUDE,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON,
October, 1829.

PREFACE.

NOTWITHSTANDING much has already been written regarding the ruins of the once mighty Babylon, it must be acknowledged that all our information on this interesting subject, is far from sufficient to make the curious investigator thoroughly acquainted with even the mere remains of this formerly renowned capital.

Though I flatter myself that my narrative will add considerably to the knowledge which the public already possess, and though many abler investigators than myself may hereafter prosecute their researches on the same ground, still the tale of Babylon, even in her desolation,

will probably long remain untold, and the features that distinguished her days of prosperity never be perfectly traced.

Among those who have recently written of Chaldæa, Rich has confined himself to Babel; and to the information which he has furnished, Keppel has added some slight notices of remarkable vestiges on either bank of the Tigris; both, at the same time, conceding what was due to the critical observations and acute inferences of Major Rennell.

I have endeavoured to extend the researches of the two former, and to verify their conclusions; and I trust that my labours will throw additional light upon the descriptions of the ancients, as well as confirm the hypothesis adopted by Buckingham, whose observations on the ruins appear to me to be more critical, correct, and comprehensive, and more fully to accord with the earliest accounts, than those of any other modern traveller.

Of the ancients, Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are the most valuable guides; then

Arrian and Strabo, and some of the earlier historians of the Roman Empire; next to these, much important information regarding Babel and Chaldæa may be obtained from the Talmud of the Jews, and from the Biblical writings of many learned Christians of those countries, which might be explained by the priests still versed in the Syriac and Chaldaic dialects. From the Chaldaic books of the Sabæans too, some interesting facts might be derived; as also from a close examination of the earlier Mohammedan historians, such as Tebari and Masudi; from the geography of Abulfeda, and of Yacuti; and from biographical writings such as Semaani's Kitab ul Ansâb. With these, and the aid of modern geography, many valuable details in illustration of the early state and history of Chaldæa might still be elicited.

To that eminent and accurate geographer, Major Rennell, I am greatly indebted. This gentleman has been pleased to express his approbation of my labours; and I feel pecu-

liar satisfaction in thus publicly acknowledging the many acts of kindness which I have experienced from him.

I am also under obligations for assistance and counsel to Major Taylor, the Honourable East India Company's Political Resident at Bussorah, whose attainments in Oriental literature are too well known to require mention. To him I am indebted for all the translations of Arabic inscriptions given in this Volume, and also for many of the valuable notes which I have annexed. I sincerely trust that he will one day present the world with an account of this most interesting land, as few have enjoyed better opportunities of doing justice to the subject.

A map of my route is prefixed, together with a plan of the ruins, to the distance of about eight miles on either side of the principal mounds. Drawings of some remarkable buildings, costumes, &c. are given, which it is hoped will not prove unacceptable.

Whatever merit may be attached to these illustrations, is, in strict justice, due to the correct and masterly pencil of Mr. Richard Craggs, who has produced them from my own rude sketches.

My aim, throughout this work, has been rather to delineate the various remarkable objects that presented themselves to my attention, than to enter deeply into useless theory and vain speculation;—in short, to furnish an accurate account of the existing remains of ancient grandeur, to describe their present desolation, and to trace something like a correct outline of the once renowned Metropolis of Chaldæa.

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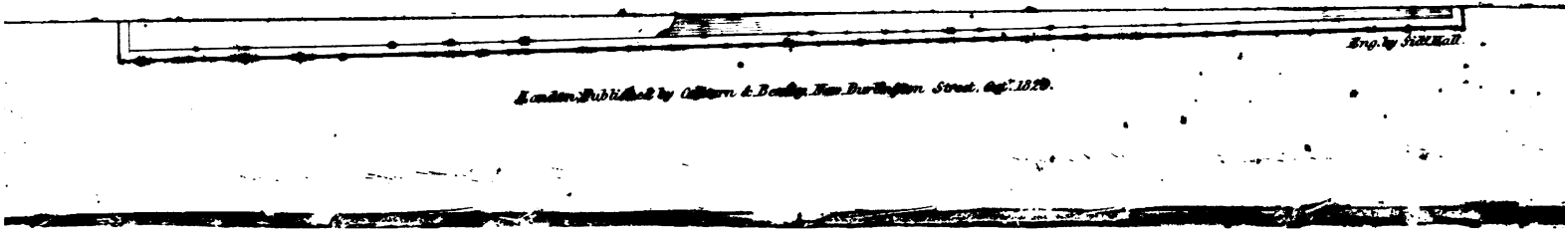

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TRAVELS

IN

BABYLONIA, CHALDÆA,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

The Author determines to visit Babylonia.—Departure from Bussorah.—Hamlet of Nohar Omer.—Situation of Suaeb.—Supposed site of the Garden of Eden.—Village of Zetchiah.—Controversy with Arabs.—Tomb of Ozair.—Jewish Pilgrimage.—Character of the Arabs.—Camp of the Beni Lam.—Appearance of the tribe.—Their occupation, &c.—The River Al Hud, or Hid.—Curious culinary operations.—Filthy state of the Arabs, dress, &c.—The Hamrine Mountains.—The Tigris.—Inland navigation.—Monotonous aspect of the country.—Mountains of Lauristan.—Course of the Tigris.—Trade between Bussorah and Bagdad.—Arab encampment.

HAVING determined on a journey into the heart of Babylonia, to visit the remains of ancient cities hitherto but little explored and less perfectly described, and fearing lest some

revolution in the Turkish government might suddenly render the country totally impassable, as is not unfrequently the case, I quitted Bussorah, on the 22nd of October, 1827, and proceeded along the banks of the Shut-ul-Arab, or the river of the Arabs, in a northerly direction, purposing to note minutely every thing worthy the investigation of the antiquary, or interesting to the general observer.

I was accompanied by six Arabs, completely armed and equipped after the fashion of the country, having taken with me a small boat, tracked by eight sturdy natives, in order to facilitate my researches on either bank of the stream. A compact canteen, a few changes of linen, two blankets, and a carpet about the size of a hearth-rug, formed an ample and comfortable travelling apparatus.

At sunset we reached a small hamlet, called Nohar Omer, on the western bank, where we found Ajeel, at the head of the powerful tribe of Montefik Arabs, occupying an extensive

BASSORAH FROM THE EUPHRATES.

encampment of reed huts and tents, some composed of goats' hair, and some of cotton cloth. A little beyond this, at the village of Dair, stands a minaret, which, according to many Mohammedan writers, has some claims to antiquity: I am informed that the natives all concur in attributing its existence to the Genii, which circumstance renders it an object of much veneration among them. Barren women suppose that a visit to the sacred spot will render them prolific; which, no doubt, tends to increase the number of its votaries. *

At eight o'clock the next morning we crossed the mouth of the Kerkha, or Howizah river, at Suaeb; † a station so called from a small collection of huts, situated about a mile up the stream, which is here fifty yards broad, and extremely tortuous. One hour more brought

* See Appendix, note A.

† It is absolutely necessary here to remark, that Kinneir has made the mouth of this river twenty miles below Koorna, whereas it is barely three.—Vide Kinneir's "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire," p. 92.

us to Koorna, the Apamea of the ancients, from Apama, the wife of Seleucus Nicator, in whose honour he founded the town.* It stands on the most southern extremity of Mesopotamia, at the conflux of two of the finest rivers in the East, the Euphrates and Tigris; and though now an insignificant place, the existing extensive ruins attest its former importance.†

Continuing along the banks of the Tigris, in a direction north, ten degrees west, (the

* Seleucus Nicator founded thirty-five cities in greater and lesser Asia; sixteen of which he named Antioch, from Antiochus, his father; nine Seleucia, from his own name; six Laodicea, from Laodice, his mother; three Apamea, from Apama, his first wife, (of which this city was the chief;(and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice, his last wife. According to Dean Prideaux, he was a great protector of the Jews, and the first that gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia, which lie on this side of the river Euphrates. As they had been faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and in many other respects, he granted them great privileges in all the cities which he built. — Vide Prideaux's "Connection of the Old and New Testament."

† See Appendix, B.

Euphrates branching off due W.S.W. by compass,) we almost immediately had on either bank the untrodden Desert.* This is conjectured to have been the site of the Garden of Eden; consequently there appeared, as the prophet Joel says, chap. ii. ver. 3, "The land of Eden before us, and behind us a desolate wilderness." The absence, alas! of all cultivation, the noisy rippling of the rapid stream, the sterile, arid, and wild character of the whole scene, formed a contrast to the rich and delightful accounts delineated in Scripture.†

In the afternoon we reached Zetchiah. My Arab guards were afraid to proceed without the

* The natives, in travelling over these pathless deserts, are compelled to explore their way by the stars, in the same manner as Diodorus Siculus (lib. 1, p. 156, edit. Rhodoman,) expressly states that travellers in the southern part of Arabia directed their course *by the bears*, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄρκτων.

† It should seem that Paradise lay on the confluent stream of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, but principally on the eastern bank, which divided into two branches above the garden, and two more below it. From the description of these rivers by ancient historians and geographers, Major

permission of the chief, or head of the village. After waiting a few minutes, three wild-looking fellows came to us from the opposite bank, each armed with a brace of pistols, sabre, and a dagger in the girdle. I produced a letter from the Montefik Sheikh, to whom they *profess* allegiance; but, without noticing it, they said, if I did not instantly pay the customary tax, they would prevent my proceeding on my journey.

After allowing the guards to tire themselves with wrangling, without any effect, I paid the *goomruck*, or tribute. They then asked if I had any dates, coffee, tobacco, and powder, adding,

Rennell infers, that in ancient times they preserved distinct courses to the sea, until the reign of Alexander; although at no great distance of time afterwards they became united, and joined the sea in a collective stream. The Cyrus and Araxes also kept distinct courses in ancient times. This, however, does not invalidate a primæval junction of these rivers, before the Deluge, which certainly produced a prodigious alteration in the face of the primitive globe. Besides, the changes in the beds of other great rivers, such as the Nile, the Ganges, and Barampooter, even in modern times are known to be very great.—Dr. Hales's "New Analysis of Chronology."

at the same time, that, as I was an Englishman, I could procure as much of those articles as I desired for nothing. Perceiving now that they wished to detain me, I frankly told them, that if they would allow me to pursue my journey, I would give them some dates and coffee; but on the contrary, if I returned, they would not only lose these things, but incur the displeasure, perhaps the punishment, of the Montefik Sheikh. This had the desired effect; they immediately accepted some coffee, made the usual salutation,* and returned to their homes.†

Half a mile beyond Zetchiah is a ruined mosque, around which are a few solitary date-

* The Bedoweens retain a great many of the customs and manners we read of in sacred as well as profane history; being, except in their religion, the same people they were two or three thousand years ago. Upon meeting one another they still use the primitive salutation, "Peace be unto you;" though they have made it a religious compliment, as if they said, "*Be in a state of salvation.*"—Shaw's "Travels in Barbary."

† The Sheikh of this village pays 50,000 piastres, (eyne) or 4500*l.* yearly to the Montefiks. This sum is collected

trees; and nearly opposite is a canal, which is navigable as far as the city of Howizah; it runs E. N. E. and contains a large body of water.

On the following day, shortly after sunrise, we arrived at a tomb, which is called by the Arabs Ozair: I could collect nothing concerning its history from my rude attendants. A good burnt-brick wall surrounds it, on passing which I found a spacious domed cloister inclosing a square sepulchre, containing

Tomb of Ozair, a Jewish Saint.

from the Bagdad trading boats and the cultivation of an extensive tract on either side of the Tigris. They also plunder all those who are so unfortunate as to fall into their power.

the ashes of Ezra, a Jewish saint. The interior is paved with the same sky-blue tile as adorns the dome, which affords a very brilliant appearance, particularly when the sun shines upon it. Over the doorway, are two tablets of black marble, filled up with Hebrew writing. The appellative Ozair has, I suspect, been assigned to it by the Jews, who erroneously suppose the spot to contain the bones of the prophet Ezra. Hither they perform a yearly pilgrimage from Bussorah, when the natives of the country waylay, rob, and strip them, and in this state the pilgrims invariably return to their homes. Were any resistance offered, three or four Arabs would think no more of depriving a dozen Jews of their lives, than of eating so many *onions*.* In fact, the Arab is here absolute master—no law (human or divine) restrains him; if he has not what he wants, he takes it, whenever and wherever he can find

* It is a vulgar and common saying in the country, that when you are in the company of Arabs, much less at their mercy, your life is not worth an *onion*.

it; if refused, he uses force; if resisted, the opponent is murdered: thus lives the independent, restless freebooter of the Desert.*

This day, October 25th, a prickly shrub, called in the country the *Camel's thorn*, † was so thick, I could scarcely continue my route along the banks of the river. In the short space of eighteen hours we travelled successively towards every point of the compass, proving how

* Ishmael lived by prey and rapine in the wilderness; and his posterity have all along infested Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incursions. They live in a state of continual war with the rest of the world, and are both robbers by land, and pirates by sea. As they have been such enemies to mankind, it is no wonder that mankind have been enemies to them again; that several attempts have been made to extirpate them; and even now, as well as formerly, travellers are forced to go with arms, and in caravans or large companies, and to march and keep watch and guard like a little army, to defend themselves from the assaults of these freebooters.—Bishop Newton's "Dissertation on the Prophecies."

† See Appendix, C.—Camels browse upon it in preference to any other herb. The mastication of it produces a frothy salivation at the mouth, which appears to give great pleasure to the animal.—Vide Morier's "Travels," vol. ii. chap. vii. page 115.

tedious and prolonged is an advance into Babylonia, when following the course of this serpentine stream. Still continuing along the banks, I met with buffaloes plunging into the water, and saw large flocks of the pelican * spreading their silvery wings, and perching on the backs of these animals, which easily accommodated themselves to the incumbrance.

At three, p. m. we saw an encampment of Arabs crossing the river on inflated sheep-skins. An hour after, I passed through the camp of the Beni Lam Arabs, extending eight miles along the eastern bank: from them I met with no disrespect; curiosity was their predominant feeling, to gratify which they impeded my progress by pressing forward with unhesitating freedom. The men and women appeared extremely poor, and with their children, horses, mules, dogs, and asses, huddled together beneath their long goat-hair tents, formed a motley group of objects, of the true *Syntactical*

* The Pelecanus fuscus of Linnæus.

Picturesque, not often seen in such striking associations: the whole would have been a capital scene for the potent pencil of a Wilkie, or the graver of a Cruikshank. The tents of these "wanderers of the Desert" formed no regular street, but were spread over the plain in the greatest disorder.* Having passed through this (to all appearance) *friendly* tribe, and looking back, the Desert, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with flocks of sheep, belonging to this great and powerful tribe. No tents whatever occupied the western bank of the river. A large troop of horsemen were exercising on a part of the plain, that made an excellent parade-ground, which displayed to advantage the regularity of their movements.

Hanway, in his account of Persia, when speaking of the Arabs, says: "Their expert-

* They had possessions of flocks and possessions of herds, Genesis xxvi. v. 14. The habits of each assimilated with those of Jacob, a plain man dwelling in tents.—Id. xxv. v. 27.

ness in the use of the lance and sabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horsemanship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, give them also a superiority over their enemies. Hence every petty chief in his own district considers himself as a sovereign prince, and as such exacts customs from all passengers. When they plunder caravans travelling through their territories, they consider it as reprisals on the Turks and Persians, who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their corn and their flocks. They generally marry within themselves."

The only occupation of this tribe is to stop the Bagdad boats, to drain the purses of their owners, and to oppress the poor villages around them with taxes. Benevolence is as foreign to them as gratitude; their hearts are as impenetrable as their distant mountains. All around seems convulsed and fallen; nature appears to languish, and to inform the traveller how wretched is the state of the people. The river meanders most capriciously, our bearings for the last two

hours having been N. ½ E.; N. E.; E.; E. S. E.; S.; S.W.; W.; N.W.; and N. At nine, p. m. I forded a river, called Al Hud, or Hid;* the Beni Lam inhabit its banks; it appeared to contain a considerable body of water, capable of admitting the largest boats, particularly when full; at this time, however, the water had fallen fifteen feet. The natives of the country assert that boats may even reach Howizah by it; and the direction it takes, appears to justify their assertion. They call the Tigris *Hud*, hence to Koorna.

Having bought a couple of sheep for my people, I was witness to some curious culinary operations. The entrails were ripped open; pieces of which, with the hoofs, dipped once or twice into the water, were eaten by them *raw;* the rest of the animal, unflayed and unshorn, was put into a vessel and half boiled, when they drank the *soup*, and voraciously devoured the scarcely-warmed carcase. They are a very filthy set of people, particularly

* See Appendix, D.

in their food: had their Prophet enjoined impurity, instead of cleanliness, his commandment could not have been more vigilantly regarded to the letter, for their nature is brutal and obscene; their morals are in a more vitiated and depraved state than Europeans can possibly imagine.*

Shortly after daybreak we came up with a

* The fine, honourable, hospitable character generally attributed to the Desert Arabs is at present a fiction; it once may have been their just right; but alas! is now "Hyperion to a Satyr." For this change many reasons might be given; one will suffice—the great intercourse they are at present constantly enjoying with towns and cities. Dr. Shaw, in his Travels in Barbary, says: "The Arabs are naturally thievish and treacherous; and it sometimes happens that those very persons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the night before with all the instances of friendship and hospitality. Neither are they to be accused for plundering strangers only, and attacking almost every person whom they find unarmed and defenceless, but for those many implacable and hereditary animosities which continually subsist among them; literally fulfilling to this day the prophecy of Hagar, that "Ishmael should be a wild man; his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him." The Doctor was himself plundered by a party of Arabs, in his journey from Ramah to Jerusalem, although he was escorted by a strong party of Turkish soldiers, and at the same time paid a large

small encampment of huts, constructed with mats, made of the date-leaf. Women covered with rags, men in old tattered cloaks, and children in a state of nudity, flying at my approach, were the objects that attracted my attention. One poor woman, bolder than her companions, ventured forward, and exclaimed to my guards, "Why, why! have you brought a wild man amongst us?" As far as the appearance of a beard, not lately trimmed, justified her inference, the woman's question was, perhaps, not ill-founded; I was wild as wandering palmer. On taking leave of these poor people, we threw dates among them, which, although it created a temporary confusion, gave them, ultimately, the usual delight of a successful scramble.* At noon,

sum to the Arabs, in order to secure a safe passage across their desert. This is a proof, not only of their independence and enjoyment of their liberty, but of their utter abuse of it.

* The Arabs are not so scrupulous as the Turks and Persians about their women; and though they have the harem, or women's part of the tent, yet such as they are acquainted with come into it.

we saw, for the first time, the Hamrine mountains; the view of them gave me renewed life and energy. Those only who have resided for years or even months in a flat country, can appreciate the nature of my sensations.

OCTOBER 27.—We reached Ali Ghurbee, on the north, and Ali Shurgee, on the south bank, points at which the Imâm Ali is said to have encamped, when on a pilgrimage to Persia. Near this the river has fallen thirty feet, by actual measurement: as the banks are not once in fifty miles half this height, it is evident that in the month of June, when the Tigris is at its fullest height, the whole country must be overflowed, and the innumerable canals branching off in every direction, (at present dry,) become perfectly navigable. It is impossible to reflect, without admiration, on the inland navigation of which this country is capable, or to consider without deep sorrow into what barbarous hands it has fallen. There is not the most distant prospect of improvement. If there

were any hope of a revolution bringing improvement, it would here be virtue to wish for one.

For the last three days, there had been such a provoking sameness in the appearance of the country, that had my weary limbs not convinced me I was moving onward, I could almost have supposed myself within the influence of the magnetised mountain of the Arabian Nights. The river still pursued a winding course, concealing itself behind continued headlands, covered with fresh brushwood. On the right side the mountains of Lauristan, of a bare and bluish appearance, form a marked contrast with the freshness of the river's channel. It is singular, that although these banks are proverbial for being the resort of lions and other wild animals, and travellers tell us of having seen them by day, and their repose at night having been disturbed by their roar, I have as yet been gratified neither by the pleasure of the first, nor agitated by the alarm of the second predicament.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the same waters subserve to the wants of Persia and Mesopotamia, waft the modern Baghalah of the merchant of Bagdad, and the old air-supported rafts and asphaltic coracles of Mosul, the ancient Nineveh.*

The commercial intercourse between Bussorah and Bagdad consists of Indian manufactures, brought chiefly from Calcutta and the Malabar coast, by ships of five hundred tons burthen; of which, about eight trade up the Persian Gulf annually, under the English flag, and several under Arab and Persian colours. The following passage, extracted from Rauwolff's Travels, will prove the trade between these two places to have been very considerable in his day.

"In this town there is a great deposition of merchandizes, by reason of its commodious situation, which are brought hither by sea as well as by land from several parts,

* See Appendix, E.

chiefly from Natolia, Syria, Armenia, Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, &c. to carry them farther into the Indies, Persia, &c. So it happened, that during the time I was there, on the 2nd day of December, in 1574, there arrived twenty-five ships, with spice and other precious drugs, here, which came over sea from the Indies, by the way of Ormutz, to Balsora, a town belonging to the Grand Turk, situated on the frontiers, the farthest that he hath south-eastwards, within six days' journey from hence, where they load their goods into small vessels, and so bring them to Bagdat, which journey, as some say, taketh them up forty days. Seeing that the passage, both by water and land, belongeth both to the King of Arabia and the Sophi of Persia, which also have their towns and forts on their confines, which might easily be stopped up by them; yet, notwithstanding all this, they may keep good correspondence with one another; they keep pigeons, chiefly at Balsora, which, in case

of necessity, might be soon sent back again with letters to Bagdat. When loaden ships arrive at Bagdat, the merchants, chiefly those that bring spice to carry through the deserts into Turkey, have their peculiar places in the open fields without the town of Ctesiphon, where each of them fixeth his tents, to put his spices underneath, in sacks, to keep them there safe, until they have a mind to break up in whole caravans; so that at a distance one would rather believe that soldiers were lodged in them, than merchants; and rather look for arms than merchandizes; and I thought myself, before I came so near, that I could smell them." *

Towards the afternoon a southerly wind sprang up, and rather than my boat should lose the advantage of it, (the current being very strong against us,) I embarked for three hours; when I again pursued my tour on foot.

* Pp. 145, 146.

The wild brushwood, in which it was not very difficult to be lost, was inhabited by great numbers of the feathered tribe. I observed small birds of several different kinds, but saw none with rich plumage. The river here has fallen so considerably, that one-half of its bed is quite dry, composed of sand and clay banks.

At sunset I passed through an extensive camp of Arabs: they were as civil and as respectful as those I had hitherto met with, and appeared to be living in the most primitive state, chiefly employed in making a cloth from the wool of their sheep. They first spin it into yarn, winding the threads round small stones; these they hang on a stick, fixed in a horizontal position, between some shrubs or trees, to form a woof; then passing other threads alternately between these, they thus weave the cloth with which they clothe themselves. None of these encampments afforded a drop of milk, or a single egg. Towards night, parties of both sexes were crossing the stream in

a state of nudity, upon a stratum of rush, which is evidently of the same kind as the "vessels of bulrushes upon the waters," alluded to by Isaiah, in chap. xviii. ver. 2.

CHAPTER II.

Village of Koote.—Its situation.—The Camel and the Dromedary.—The Canal of Hye.—Singular amusement.—Ruins of a bridge.—Supposition respecting them.—General aspect of the Desert.—Approach to the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.—No swans to be seen.—Extensive sand-banks.—Navigation of the Tigris.—Weapons of the Arabs.—The lion.—The Eelauts, a wandering tribe.—Their behaviour.—The Author's progress impeded.—Remarkable ruins.—Extensive wall.—Mumlihah.—Unsuccessful researches.

OCTOBER 29th.—This day brought me to Koote, a wretched village composed of a collection of cottages constructed with mud, and surrounded by a wall of the same material. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and is erroneously reckoned half-way between Bussorah and Bagdad, since it is more by a journey of two days. Its position also is incorrectly laid down on the map of Colonel Macdonald Kinneir; for during the last eight-and-

forty hours, our course has varied from E. S. E. to S. S. W. and W. S. W., making almost nothing to the North. Large herds of camels were grazing in every direction, left without men or dogs: some allowed the stranger to approach, and betrayed no alarm; whilst others appeared much frightened, and were extremely wild. They were all of a white colour, and belonged to a powerful Arab chief, who resided in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Buckingham, whose extensive travels in the East were attended by circumstances which gave him every facility of correct observation, has, in his work on Mesopotamia, rendered a faithful description of this valuable inhabitant of the Desert. He remarks, that "the prevailing opinion in Europe is, that of the two kinds of this animal, the single-humped is the camel, and the double-humped the dromedary. The fact, however, is nearer the reverse. The double-humped camel is found only in Bactria, and the countries to the north and east of Persia; and these, being natives of a colder climate, and living in more fertile countries than the other

species, are shorter, thicker, more muscular, covered with a dark-brown shaggy hair, and heavier and stronger by far than any other camels. From this race of the double-humped animal, I am not aware of dromedaries being ever produced. The only camel seen in Arabia, Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, is the single-humped. This, inhabiting a hot climate, and having always a scanty supply of food and water, is taller, more slender, of a paler colour, and altogether lighter in form and flesh, than the Bactrian camel. Its hair is as short, and its skin as sleek, as that of the horses or bullocks of England. It is from this race only that dromedaries are produced; these are merely single-humped camels of good blood and breed, which, instead of being used for burthen, are appropriated only to carrying riders and performing journeys of speed. They bear indeed the same relation to other single-humped camels, that race-horses do to other horses: care being taken, by preserving the purity of their descent, and improving their blood, to keep them always fit for and appropriated to

this particular purpose. They are trained, in Egypt, into dromedary corps for the supply of lancers and couriers, and perform wonderful journeys, both as to speed and distance. They are called, by the Arabs, *Hedjeen;* while the camel is called *Gemel,* or *Jemel,* according to the district in which the hard or soft pronunciation of the *g* prevails." *

Immediately opposite the village is a canal called the Hye, which runs into the Euphrates to the north of Soogishiookh: † its banks are a noted haunt for lions, and other ferocious animals. At this time its bed is perfectly dry, though it is navigable for eight months in the year. Hence to the mouth of the river Al Hud, the Arabs call this beautiful stream *Amarah.*

During the whole of the day it rained so hard, that my progress was not so great as I wished and expected; at night, however, the cold was piercing; and my followers, who were

* See Buckingham's Travels in Mesopotamia, vol. ii. p. 207.

† Literally the Sheikh's bazaar, or mart. This town is the head-quarters of the Montefik Arabs, who occupy both banks of the river, north and south, to a great distance.

in high spirits at having advanced so far, as well as from the pleasure they felt in breathing their native air, (many of whom were from the country near Bagdad,) collected themselves round a fire, formed a circle, and exhibited their native dance till midnight. For music, they were contented with a kettle covered with a round empty sheep-skin bag, which in general is used for holding oil, but on the present occasion served to form a drum. The harmony of the instrument was heightened by the clapping of hands, and a loud chorus of so peculiar a strain, that I am incapable of describing it, and such as I never heard before. One person at a time came forward and danced, keeping up a constant wriggling motion with his feet, hands, breast, and shoulders, until his gestures became too fatiguing to be continued.

The deportment of these people in towns bears a striking contrast to the insolent independence they assume in the Desert. They are a merry race, with a keen relish for drollery, endued with a power over their features, that is

shown off in the richest exhibitions of grimace. I gave them a sheep, which they roasted whole, and devoured in a few minutes; they were shortly afterwards in a profound sleep.*

At sunrise on the following morning, after making a present to the Sheikh † of the village, I departed; and four hours' march over a barren plain brought me near the ruins of a bridge, which evidently has spanned the river; for, from the disturbed rippling of the water, I could distinctly observe where the fragments lay beneath. By this time the rain had ceased; the rising sun, gleaming upon the river, threw a beautiful radiance over the brushwood in the direction of the mountains: I embarked as soon as my boat came up, and had the satisfaction of examining these remains. The bed of the river here is considerably enlarged; the bridge occupies a central position, and consists of three equal piers, of the finest kiln-burnt bricks, which exhibit a great resemblance to the Babylonian

* See Appendix, F.

† Presents are considered in Eastern countries essential to kind and civil intercourse.

material in dimension and composition, and are as hard as stone. This is a singular circumstance, when we consider that they are, for the greater part of the year, beneath the surface of the stream. The extent of the ruins, at present above water, is sixty feet in length, and seventeen in breadth; and the height of the most perfect pier, eight. This was the first time I had met with any remains of antiquity: none of my people had ever seen these before, having always passed the spot when the river was at the full.

Remains of an ancient Bridge.

Colonel Macdonald Kinneir, on his journey from Constantinople to Bussorah, in the year 1813, mentions the circumstance of his boat being stranded on one of the piers of an ancient *stone* bridge, and that it was so old, no one could tell by whom, or in what age, it was erected.* As the position of this bridge agrees within a few miles to the one he alludes to, I apprehend it must be the same; but Kinneir is mistaken when he says it is of stone. My boatmen were at first afraid to approach it, as the "stones," they said, might materially injure their boat; it was only on extracting the bricks that they were convinced of its being of this material. The face of the country was still open and flat, presenting to the eye one vast level plain, where nothing is to be seen but here and there a herd of half-wild camels, whose flesh is thought by the Arabs to be superior to venison.

This immense tract is very rarely diversified with any trees of moderate growth; but

* Vide Kinneir's "Travels in Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kurdistan," page 501.

abounds in brushwood and short-lived herbage, occupied by numbers of partridges, hares, and gazelles, which reign supreme lords of an immeasurable wild, bounded only by the horizon. When the orb of day rises, he appears emerging from the earth, without rays, until considerably above the horizon; and on sinking into the golden chambers of the west, his beams disappear long before the body of the orb is covered.

The soil of this Desert consists of a hard clay mixed with sand, which, at noon, becomes so heated by the sun's rays, (although the nights are cold,*) that I find it too hot

* *Thus* I was; in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from my eyes.—(Genesis xxxi. 40.)

"In Europe the days and nights resemble each other, with respect to the qualities of heat and cold: but it is quite otherwise in the East. In the lower Asia, in particular, the day is always hot: on the contrary, in the height of summer the nights are as cold as at Paris in the month of March. I have travelled in Arabia and in Mesopotamia, the theatre of the adventures of Jacob, both in winter and in summer, and have found the truth of what the Patriarch said, 'That he was scorched with heat in the day, and stiffened with cold in the night.' This contrariety in the qualities of the air in twenty-four hours is extremely great in some places, and not

to walk over it with any degree of comfort. It is not, however, my intention to de-

conceivable by those that have not felt it: one would imagine he had passed in a moment from the violent heats of summer to the depth of winter. The heat of the sun is tempered by the coolness of the nights, without which the greatest part of the East would be barren and a desert: the earth could not produce any thing."—*Sir J. Chardin.*

The hot pestilential south wind, which blows from these deserts, commences from the 20th of June, and continues for about seven weeks. It is thus described by Mr. Bruce:—"This hot wind is called by the Arabs *Samum*, or *Simoom*. It is generally preceded by an extreme redness in the air, and usually blows from the south-east, or from the south, a little to the east. It appeared in the form of a haze, in colour like the purple part of a rainbow, but not so compressed, or thick: it was a kind of *blush upon the air*. The guide warned the company, upon its approach, to fall upon their faces, with their mouths close to the ground, and to hold their breath as long as they could, to avoid inhaling the outward air. It moved very rapidly, about twenty yards in breadth, and about twelve feet high from the ground; so that," says Bruce, "I had scarcely time to turn about and fall upon the earth, with my head to the northward, when I felt the heat of its current plainly upon my face. We all fell upon our faces until the Simoom passed on, with a gentle ruffling wind. When the meteor, or purple haze, had passed, it was succeeded by a light air, which still blew so hot as to threaten suffocation, which sometimes lasted three hours, and left the company totally enervated and exhausted, labouring under asthmatic sensations, weakness of stomach, and violent head-aches, from imbibing the poisonous vapour."—*Bruce's Travels.*

tain the reader by an enumeration of my sufferings from bodily fatigue; those who have crossed these desert wilds are already acquainted with their dreary tediousness, even on horseback; what it is on foot they can easily imagine. The thought, however, that I was gradually approaching the sites of the once magnificent and renowned cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, with the Tigris still flowing beneath the solitary remains of ancient splendour, amply compensated me for all my troubles, and animated me with renewed strength and vigour.

I perceived no swans upon the surface of the stream: hoping to meet with some of these birds, I had traced its current for miles, but was still disappointed. In vain, too, I looked for the smallest stones; there is not one in the district; nor are there any fragments of ruined edifices, to tell of "long forgotten ages."

At four, p. m. I saw a very extensive sand-bank, that stretched more than half over the bed of the river: it was studded throughout with innumerable small cupolas of

clay; and as the eye glanced quickly over the whole, it reminded one exactly of the domes which cover the bazaars at Ispahan, Shiraz, and other Persian cities.

The root, from which is procured what in England is called *liquorice*,* is so abundant throughout the country, that it is burnt as fire-wood.

Some modern travellers have remarked that this river is totally unnavigable in the dry season, which is incorrect. The Tigris, during the whole year, contains a sufficient body of water for moderate-sized boats, and these heavily laden. Several, requiring a great draught of water, quitted Bussorah a few days before me, and, although the river had been remarkably low all the season, their progress was not interrupted by a want of water. The great and only difficulty they had to contend with, was the savage inhabitants of these banks; not the lion, but a fiercer animal—the Desert

* The Glycyrrhiza, with both smooth and scabrous pericarps. The Arabs call it *soos*. The Glycyrrhiza echinata is the most abundant.

Arab, who never goes in search of his wild neighbour; but, should he chance to meet the king of the forest, he slays him in self-defence. The Arab's chief weapons being the sword and spear, he is not always certain of conquering his foe. For this reason all the people hereabouts are much alarmed by the circumstance of the lion making this part his favourite haunt.

At sunset we saw some fires at a short distance. On going to the spot, we found a camp of one of the wandering tribes, known by the name of Eelauts*,—as usual, poor—but happy, contented, and civil. A few sheep and goats appeared to be their only property. The left nostril of most of the women of this tribe was perforated, to admit a gold or silver ring, from which hung a pearl or turquoise.

How widely different is the behaviour of these poor people from that of the roving Arab,

* Wandering pastors of Persian or Coordish origin. Pococke describes all their riches to consist in goats and sheep, and says that they live in great poverty, having nothing except a few dates and goats' milk.

who accosts the traveller in an overbearing, insolent tone, and haughty manner; who is only deterred from attacking and robbing the stranger through *fear*—the sole reason which compels him to restrain his lawless wishes whenever he may chance to meet an European!

Richards, in his Lectures on Prophecy, remarks, that "the region inhabited by the Arabs is situated in that portion of the globe in which society originated and the first kingdoms were formed. The greatest empires of the world arose and fell around them. They have not been secluded from correspondence with foreign nations, and are thus attached through ignorance and prejudice to simple and primitive manners. In the early periods of history they were united, as allies, to the most powerful monarchs of the East, under their victorious Prophet. They once carried their arms over the most considerable kingdoms of the earth; through many succeeding ages the caravans of the merchant, and the companies of Mahometan pilgrims, passed regularly over their deserts: even

their religion has undergone a total change. Yet all these circumstances, which, it might be supposed, would have subdued the most stubborn prejudices, and altered the most inveterate habits, have produced no effect upon the Arabs; and they still preserve, unimpaired, a most exact resemblance to the first descendants of Ishmael."

OCTOBER 31st.—I was detained a great part of this day, from my boat having grounded. As my guards were required to assist in floating her off, they would not allow of my proceeding until they could rejoin me, the road being (in their opinion) unsafe for any person to travel unattended, much less an Englishman. I was reluctantly obliged to yield to their wishes, and seating myself on the margin of the stream, remained for some hours contemplating with delight the unruffled course of the waters gliding beneath me.

While reflecting on the various remains of antiquity connected with the history of this beautiful river, an Arab tapped me on the

shoulder, and said, if I accompanied him, he would show me the ruins of a wall at no great distance, and on the water's edge. I instantly followed him, and had the company of my guards likewise, who were determined not to lose sight of me.

Continuing in a northerly direction for two hours, we came to a round pillar, filled up with earth and broken tile, built of furnace-burnt bricks, placed together alternately in a horizontal and vertical position, situated within twelve feet of the water's edge. After digging ten feet perpendicularly, and clearing away the rubbish from within, I did not arrive at its foundation; the diameter was five feet and a half. It is very evident that the river has here considerably encroached, for its bed is covered with broken bricks and fragments of building. The bank is thirty-five feet in height; and from the pillar I distinctly traced a wall built into the bank (which extends due north) for three hundred and seventy-two feet, of the

same material as the pillar, but much smaller than such portions as I extracted from the bridge yesterday, and more nearly resembling those made use of at the present day in the cities of Bagdad and Bussorah. There are several hollows and mounds all over the plain, extending from the summit or margin of the bank in an easterly direction.

The whole surface of this tract was strewed with bricks and broken pottery, of various kinds and colours; but I could trace no remains of building, nor any thing embedded within the mounds, although I dug into all of them. From their soft state it appears that they have been robbed of all their valuable burnt material, which bids defiance to the hand of time. A few more years will, I fear, remove every vestige of this extensive wall, a great portion of which has been washed into the river, as is evident from the vast quantity of bricks lying beneath the water. This place is on the eastern bank, and is called by the

natives Mumlah; they can give the traveller no information whatever concerning it.

In Keppel's Narrative of a journey overland from India, viâ Bussorah and Bagdad, a place called Mumlihah is mentioned, and this spot coincides with it in every respect, with the exception of its being placed on the opposite side of the river, whither I went with his book in my hand, and made a diligent search to discover the ruins spoken of, but was unsuccessful *.

* The author of the Personal Narrative appears to have derived much of his information on this part of the country from the ignorant Arabs who were with him. These people never agree in regard to traditionary tales, and the names of places. It is only upon the authority of well-informed respectable men, who have resided all their lives in the country, that we can depend for any authentic details: and even their accounts border upon the marvellous. In the Personal Narrative is the following passage in speaking of this spot:—

"We came upon some extensive ruins on the *left bank* of the river, which our guides called *Mumliheh;* instead of showing fragments of pillars, or any marks by which we might conjecture the order of architecture, they exhibit an accumulation of mounds, which, on a dead flat, soon attract the

The square masses of brick (mentioned in the note) must have been washed away, if ever any existed; for no traces of such buildings remain. As it is some years since Keppel visited this spot, and the river is still advancing with great force and rapidity, I have little doubt that a few more yearly freshes will sweep away even the present remains, "and leave not a wreck behind."

The smell of wild animals was extremely offensive at this place; and, as a heavy shower of rain had fallen during the night, rendering the soil moist, we traced the footsteps of a lion to an extensive patch of brushwood, where, very probably, he was concealed. Not one of my guards would approach or attempt to disturb the bushes, pretending not to see the

eye of a traveller, and have, at first sight, the appearance of sandy hillocks. On a nearer inspection they prove to be square masses of brick, facing the cardinal points, and though sometimes much worn by the weather, are built with much regularity: the neighbourhood of these large mounds is strewed with fragments of tile, broken pottery, and manufactured vitreous substances."

thicket which was before them; nevertheless they are very near-sighted. I have seldom met with a man that can distinguish with accuracy an object at the distance of half a mile; and many of them cannot fix their eyes on any given spot without causing much annoyance to their organs of vision.

CHAPTER III.

Water-courses.—Remarkable mounds.—Blocks of black stone.—Fruitless excavation.—Earthen vase.—Party of horsemen.—Insulated pile, called Shejur.—Curious column.—Remains of a wall.—Earthen vases.—Ruins, called Hoomania.—Discovery of Athenian coins.—Fleet of boats.—Their singular construction.—The Kooffah, a wicker-basket.—Ruins of a Fort.—Armed horseman.—Appearance of the river.—View of Tauk Kesra.—History of the Arabs.

NOVEMBER 1st.—During the course of to-day I crossed no less than forty water-courses, all running in an easterly direction, dug for the purpose of facilitating the irrigation of the interior part of the country, and carrying off the exuberant waters.* I occasionally saw the ske-

* "Towards Babylon and Seleucia, where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates swell over their banks and water the country, the same kind of husbandry is practised as in Egypt, but to

letons of cattle, probably destroyed by the wild beasts; on this account, the flocks of every encampment are always driven at sunset into a thorny inclosure within the tents. At three in the afternoon I crossed the stream, and proceeded four miles from the left bank, in a westerly direction, to some mounds, which I reached at four. They stretched for nearly a mile north and south, and were composed of soft clay, externally covered with broken pieces of pottery, fragments of tile, flint glass, and shells. The highest mound, which occupied a central position, I estimated at five and twenty feet, surrounded by minor ridges of hillock; which are invariably the proofs of ruined buildings. On the top of the largest, to my great surprise, I stumbled upon some blocks of black stone, measuring four or five feet square, and completely honeycombed from exposure. Hitherto I felt convinced that no stone was to be found in the

better effect and greater profit. The people here let in the water by sluices and flood-gates as they require it."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book 18, c. 18.

country; and the prevailing opinion of all those who have examined the remains of antiquity in these parts, has been, that burnt and unburnt bricks were the chief, I may add, only materials used for building in past times, as well as at the present day.

Concluding, then, that these stones must have been extracted from beneath the tumulus, I commenced clearing away at the base; and as far as I dug, I found that the mound rested on layers of stone, each measuring about five feet square, so firmly joined together, that my digging implements broke to pieces, and obliged me to discontinue any farther attempt at excavation. There was no appearance of erect building whatever, nor any burnt or unburnt bricks, except on the summit, where I saw some fragments of brickwork perfectly black, petrified, and molten. I found a large portion of an earthen vase, (similar to some I have dug up near a village called Reschire, five miles to the south of Bushire in the Persian Gulph,) and human bones lying by it. This vessel was

made of baked clay, and appeared painted over: we had to delve with our hands for two feet deep, previous to extracting it. That there were several more I am convinced, as they are never found singly, but in long rows nearly touching each other, and fronting east and west. By this time the sun had gone down, and having to walk the same distance back to regain the bank of the river, we reluctantly left the spot.

Returning, I saw a great number of gazelles and several hares started from the brushwood. On reaching the river and looking towards the place we had recently quitted, I descried a party of horsemen crossing the plain, and felt extremely happy at having escaped their notice; otherwise we might have been subjected to considerable annoyance by the meeting. * I

* "The manner in which the Arabs make war and pillage the caravans, is by keeping at the side of them, or following them in the rear, at a greater or smaller distance, according to their forces, which may be easily done in Arabia, on account of its being one great plain; and in the night they fall silently upon the camp, and carry off one part before the rest are under arms."—*Sir John Chardin.*

should not omit to mention here, that the above noticed mounds are among the few for which the Arabs have no name; nor is any ridiculous tale attached to the spot.

NOVEMBER 2nd.—As the sun rose above the distant mountains, I pursued my route in a westerly direction along the right bank, with four of my escort armed with swords and matchlocks. Towards noon we arrived at a solitary insulated pile, to which my Arabs gave the appellation of Shejur: it was a heap of argillaceous earth extending one hundred yards north and south, its elevation varying from ten to fifteen feet; it was bounded on all sides by the same barren desert, without a tree or any sign of cultivation. The surface of this mound was strewed with tile, kiln-burnt brick, a few small stones, glass, and several blocks of grey marble, thickly coated on one side with bitumen, as hard as the stone to which it was attached, and requiring our united strength to break off the smallest portion, so tenaciously did it adhere to the marble. This heap ap-

peared to have lost all its perfect bricks, being particularly soft and unpleasant to walk over. After digging round its base for two hours, without perceiving any remains of building, we crossed over to the left bank, and proceeded on a bearing of west for five-and-twenty minutes, when we reached a column situated on a gentle declivity, constructed of the finest kiln-burnt material, fastened together horizontally and perpendicularly by thin layers of cement, joining the whole together with great delicacy. The hand of Time had corroded it to such a degree, that the periphery of its base, which is only sixteen feet, supports the upper portion, the circumference of which is sixty-two feet, and its height is twenty; its vertex was terribly shattered, and irregularly torn by the elements.

Hence extensive ridges of mounds, varying in height and extent, are seen branching in every direction. At a hundred yards to the right of the column, I dug into a heap of ruins, (evidently the largest on the plain,) and

discovered the remains of a wall, (the bricks of which measured a square of nine inches,) likewise steps and the subverted portion of another column, corresponding, in dimensions and the materials of its composition, with the standing one already mentioned. This pile was extremely solid, and would have taken a considerable number of men to lay it open, by clearing away the accumulated earth and rubbish.

On a mound at some distance to the north-east, I observed the bases of walls that have been razed to the ground. The bricks of which they were composed must have been removed, or thrown down and buried beneath the shapeless and dilapidated ruin; for I could not discover any traces of them. The surface of all the hillocks was covered with broken bricks, varnished tile, pottery, shells, and vitrified stones and glass. I computed their circumference at eight miles, as I was two hours and a half walking round them.

Three hours after the sun went down, by

the light of the lovely moon and starry sky, I was hurried from this interesting spot; my Arabs would remain no longer in the desert, wondering what there possibly could be in a heap of confused rubbish to engross so much of my time and attention.

Proceeding W. N. W. we almost immediately reached the river's bank, where some elevated hillocks attracted my curiosity, exhibiting fragments of brickwork and pottery. The river appears to have encroached; I met with several earthenware vases,* containing human

Ancient vase found near Hormania.

* See Appendix, G.

bones, which *had* undergone the action of fire. These urns measured three feet in length, by one and a half in depth and width, though some appeared to be of greater dimensions. They were terminated at one extremity by a cover without bottom, and at the other by a pointed handle. I could only find the smallest possible fragments of bone with the ashes, and these became dust on being touched; even simple exposure to the atmosphere produced nearly a similar effect.

The Tigris is here nearly as broad as the Shut-ul-Arab at Basrah; two thirds of its bed being completely dry, and composed of a mixture of sand and clay, which fatigued us greatly by walking over it. This heavy soil was nearly the means of my missing the boat altogether; as the crew had proceeded, regardless of my orders to remain at anchor until my return. These remains are called, by the natives of the country, Hoomania. At this place, on the 5th of March, 1812,

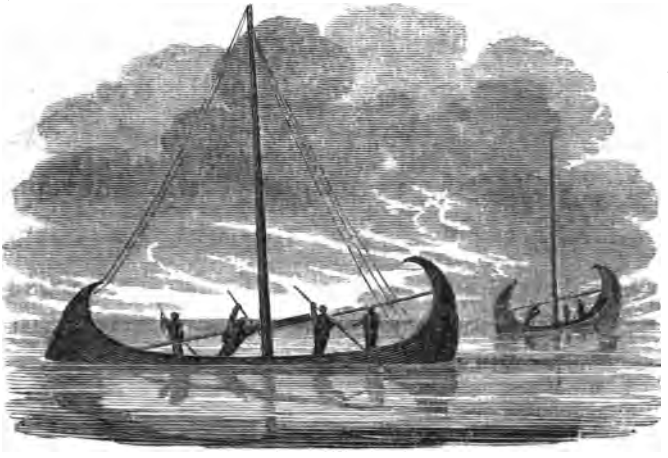
on the bank of the stream, the crew of a boat, who were cutting wood for sale at Bagdad, discovered pieces of silver, edging out of the margin of the bank, which was thus exposed, from its having been washed down by the action of the current.

On dividing their newly-acquired treasure, they quarrelled among themselves; when one of the party hastened to Bagdad, and informed the Pasha's officers of the circumstance, who instantly despatched people to the spot, and on examination found, and brought away, between six and seven hundred ingots of silver, each measuring from one to one and a-half feet in length; and an earthen jar, containing upwards of two thousand Athenian coins, all of silver. Many were purchased at the time by the late Mr. Rich, formerly the East India Company's Resident at Bagdad, and are now in his valuable collection, since bought by Government, and deposited in the British Museum. No coins were found of gold, or copper; and the

whole were lodged in the treasury of Abdalla Pasha.

NOVEMBER 3.—I cannot say whether we missed any antiquities on our road this day or not, as our path lay through an almost impenetrable forest of brushwood, which extended into the Desert as far as the eye could reach. We passed a fleet of boats laden with wood, for use at Bagdad. They load half-mast high, so that if a fresh breeze were blowing, they would be obliged to lay-to until it subsided.

These vessels are of a most singular construction, being put together with reeds and willow, thickly coated with bitumen: the prow is the broadest part of the boat, being extremely bluff, and the whole as clumsy and unwieldy as possible.



Bagdad Wood-boats.

A round wicker-basket, called in Arabic *Kooffah*, is towed astern of each boat for the purpose of communicating with the shore; these are also covered with naptha, and are in use on the Euphrates, and likewise on the Diala. Their shape and construction belong to the most remote ages, being mentioned by Herodotus;* and it is worthy of remark, that they have un-

* See the description of these round wicker-baskets, in the account given by Herodotus of Babylon.

dergone little or no change since he visited this country; though, by the by, they at present exhibit no external covering of skin, as it would appear they did from the account of that famous historian. The following engraving exhibits the peculiar structure of the interior floor and upper margin of the Kooffah, as seen from above.

The interior floor, and upper margin of the Kooffah.

NOVEMBER 4.—At ten this morning I visited the ruins of a fort on the left bank of the river.

My Arabs said it was extremely ancient, but its appearance ill accorded with their opinion. Hence an unbroken range of mounds are discernible on the horizon, in a south-westerly direction. They appeared at a considerable distance, and were perhaps some of the dark heaps of fallen Babylon.

Every man we meet in the Desert is looked upon as an enemy. At noon we discovered an armed horseman pacing across the plain. The moment my escort saw him, they were off like lightning to demand his business, whence he came, and whither he was going? at the same time brandishing their swords, and turning their matchlocks over their heads. The armed Arab struck his stirrups into his horse's sides, and was off in a second. Had there been three or four, my people would have pretended they could not see them, or probably have begged me to retreat beneath the bank to escape observation, as they would never hazard the conflict, without being fully convinced of its

terminating successfully. They are very cowardly, and when in their power, will tyrannize over a weaker party to the utmost; they well know, therefore, the consequences of capture.

The river has suddenly appeared very discoloured, and were it not for the current, I should scarcely have been able to distinguish its bed from the sands on its shore; it is considerably more rapid, owing to the falls of snow and rain in the upper country. At Bagdad the stream is proverbial for its clearness. If this is a specimen, (as I am told it is,) I had certainly formed a very erroneous idea of its transparent properties.

Shortly after sunset we had an imperfect view of Tauk Kesra,* a ruined arch on the site of Ctesiphon, bearing due North across the Desert, about fourteen miles distant in a direct line, but nearly forty when following

* The Arch of Kesra. Kesra is a name proper to the two last races of Persian monarchs.

the course of the stream, so great is its sinuosity.

Previous to entering upon a description of the remains of those cities we are approaching, I shall, on the authority of that learned divine, Newton, trace the history of the Arabs, from the time of their ancestor, Ishmael, who, we learn from sacred history, was born in the year 1910 before Christ, and died in 1773, after having attained the age of one hundred and thirty seven years.

"It is said of Ishmael that he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer: such were the Itureans, whose bows and arrows are famous in all authors; such were the mighty men of Kedar, in Isaiah's time; and such the Arabs have been from the beginning, and are at this time.

"It was late before they admitted the use of fire-arms among them; the greater part of them are still strangers to them, and still continue skilful archers. In the time of Moses they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is, before

Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria: but yet we do not find that they were ever subject to either of their powerful neighbours, the Egyptians or Assyrians. The conquests of Sesostris, the great king of Egypt, are much magnified by Diodorus Siculus; and probably he might subdue some of the southern provinces of Arabia bordering upon Egypt; but he was obliged, as Diodorus informs us, to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, to secure Egypt from the incursions of the Arabs. They were therefore not subjects, but enemies to the Egyptians; as they were likewise to the Assyrians, for they assisted Belesis and Arbaces in overturning that empire,—assisted them, not as fellow rebels, but as an independent state, with their auxiliary forces.

"The next great conquerors of the East, were Cyrus and the Persians; but neither he nor any of his successors ever reduced the whole body of the Arabs to subjection. They might conquer some of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country: and

Herodotus, the historian, who lived nearest to those times, expressly says,* that the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were considered by them as friends, and opened to them a passage into Egypt, which, without the assistance and permission of the Arabs, would have been utterly impracticable: and, in another place, he says, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute. They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they assisted with their forces, Amyrtœus, king of Egypt, against Darius Nothus, and Euagoras, king of Cyprus, against Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that they acted as friends or enemies to the Persians, just as they thought proper, and as it suited their humour or their interest.

* "Arabes nunquam à Persis in servitutem redacti sunt, sed hospites extiterunt; quum Cambysi aditum in Ægyptum permisissent: quibus invitis haudquaquam fuissent ingressi Persæ Ægyptum."—*Herod.* lib. iii. sec. 88, p. 198, Edit. Gale.

"Alexander the Great then overturned the Persian empire, and conquered Asia. The neighbouring princes sent their ambassadors to make their submissions. The Arabs alone disdained to acknowledge the conqueror, and scorned to send any embassy, or to take any notice of him. This slight provoked him to such a degree, that he meditated an expedition against them; and the great preparations which he made for it, showed that he thought them a very formidable enemy: but death intervened, and put an end to all that his ambition or resentment had formed against them.

"Thus they happily escaped the fury of his arms, and were never subdued by any of his successors. Antigonus, one of the greatest of his successors, made two attempts upon them, one by his general Athenæus, and the other by his own son, Demetrius, but both without success. The former was defeated, and the latter was glad to make peace with them, and leave them at their liberty. Neither would they suffer the people employed by Antigonus,

to gather the bitumen on the lake Asphaltites, whereby he hoped greatly to increase his revenue. The Arabs fiercely attacked the workmen and the guards, and forced them to desist from their undertaking. So true is the assertion of Diodorus, that 'neither the Assyrians formerly, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet of the Macedonians, were able to subdue them; nay, though they led many, and great forces, against them, yet they could not accomplish their attempts.' We find them afterwards sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the neighbouring states; sometimes joining the Syrians, and sometimes the Egyptians; sometimes assisting the Jews, and sometimes plundering them; and in all respects acting like a free people, who neither feared nor courted any foreign power whatever.

"The Romans then invaded the East, and subdued the countries adjoining, but were never able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Roman province. It is too common with historians to say that such or such a country was

conquered, when, perhaps, only part of it was so. It is thus that Plutarch asserts, that the Arabs submitted to Lucullus;* whereas the most that we can believe is, that he might subdue some particular tribes; but he was recalled, and the command of the Roman army in Asia was given to Pompey. Pompey, though he triumphed over the three parts of the world, could not yet conquer Arabia. He carried his arms into the country, obtained some victories, and compelled Aretas to submit;† but other affairs soon obliged him to retire, and, by retiring, he lost all the advantages which he had gained.

"His forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Arabs made their incursions again into the Roman provinces. Ælius Gallus,‡ in the reign of Augustus, penetrated far into the country, but a strange distemper made terrible havock in his army; and, after two years spent in this

* Plutarch, in Lucullo, passim.

† Plutarch, in Pompeio, p. 640. Edit. Paris, 1624.

‡ Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1126. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

unfortunate expedition, he was glad to escape with the small remainder of his forces.

"The Emperor Trajan reduced some parts of Arabia, but he could never subdue it entirely; and, when he besieged the city of the Hagarenes, as Dio says,* his soldiers were repelled by whirlwinds. About eighty years after, the Emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army, and a formidable train of military engines; but he had no better success than Trajan. He made some assaults, but was baffled and defeated, and returned with precipitation as great as his vexation for his disappointment. And if such great emperors and able warriors as Trajan and Severus could not succeed in their attempts, it is no wonder that the following emperors could prevail nothing. The Arabs continued their incursions and depredations, in Syria and other Roman provinces, with equal licence and impunity.

"Such was the state and condition of the

* Dionis Hist. lib. 68. p. 785. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov.

Arabs, to the time of their famous prophet Mohammed, who laid the foundations of a mighty empire: and then, for several centuries, they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni*, or Saracens, the *Arraceni* of Pliny,* and the *Hagarenes* of Holy Scripture.† Their conquests were, indeed, amazingly rapid; they can be compared to nothing more properly than to a sudden flood, or inundation. In a few years the Saracens overran more countries, and subdued more people than the Romans did in centuries; and they were then not only free and independent of the rest of the world, but were themselves masters of the most considerable parts of the earth. And so they continued for above three centuries; and after their empire was dissolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they still maintained their liberty against the Tartars,

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 32.

† *Hagarenes*, the descendants of Ishmael. They are called also Ishmaelites and Saracens. Calmet's Dict.

Mamalukes, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever.*

"Whoever were the conquerors of Asia, they were still unconquered, still continued their incursions, and preyed upon all alike. The Turks have now for several centuries been lords of the adjacent countries; but they have been so little able to restrain the depredations of the Arabs, that they have been obliged to pay them a sort of annual tribute for the safe passage and security of the pilgrims, who usually go in great companies to Mecca; so that the Turks have rather been dependent upon them, than they upon the Turks. And they still continue the same practices, and preserve the same superiority, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of modern travellers of all nations."†

* The Saracens began their conquests A.D. 622. Their empire was broken and divided A.D. 936. See Blair's Chronol. Tables, 33—39.

† Newton on the Prophecies, vol. i. pp. 46—54.

CHAPTER IV.

City of Ctesiphon.—Extensive mound.—High wall.—Supposed canal.—Ancient remains.—Description of Tauk Kesra.—Search made for coins, &c.—Sack of the palace of Tauk Kesra by the Saracens. —Valuable spoils.—Rich carpet.—Decay of Ctesiphon.—Tomb of Selman Pauk.—Annual pilgrimage to it.—Mosque, tombs, &c.—Seleucia. —Ruins of the city.—Fragments of a bridge.—Sites of the two cities.—Impediments in the way of research.—Calamities of Seleucia.—Bridge of boats over the Diala.—Arrival at Bagdad.

NOVEMBER 5th.—From daylight until noon, I have passed a succession of broken vases, made of baked clay; the inner portion of each was highly polished, of various colours, and some had human bones sticking to them. They were all close upon the left bank of the Tigris; and

it is to be remarked, that whenever a running stream is in the vicinity of an ancient site, these earthen coffins are sure to be found on its bank.

Half an hour after, I crossed over to the right, or eastern bank, when I was on the site of Ctesiphon;* and immediately observed mounds, superficially covered with the same fragments and materials as I have already mentioned in describing those hillocks I had hitherto met with. This spot is called by the natives the "Garden of Kisra." The first mound, which was composed of furnace-burnt bricks as a foundation, and sun-dried, mixed up with chopped straw, for the superstructure, one course separated from another by irregular layers of reeds, extended from the bank of the river, in a northerly direction, for seven hun-

* "The Parthians, in order to do by Seleucia as the Greeks, who built that place, had done by Babylon, built the city of Ctesiphon, within three miles of it, in the track called Chalonitis, in order to dispeople and impoverish it, though it is now the head city of the kingdom."- *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 26.

dred and fifty feet; its height and thickness varied from thirty to thirty-six feet.

The elevation of the wall that edged from out this mound, on the margin of the bank, was forty feet. It then formed an angle, and stretched away North-west for eight hundred yards, when there was a breach, or gap, one hundred and thirty-five feet wide, probably once occupied by some grand gate of entrance. The wall, or rampart line, then re-commences, and runs on the same bearings for seven hundred and fifty yards more, when we came to another break, which appeared to be the bed of a canal, as the stratum, or channel, varied from fifteen to twenty feet deep; the breadth being one hundred and fifty yards, and therefore capable of admitting a very large body of water. The direction of the dry bed of this channel was North-east, and appeared to extend to an unbroken ridge of mounds running North-west and South-east at the distance of eight or nine miles.

The high wall, already followed, embraces an extensive area, where no vestiges of former buildings exist, and runs to the verge of the river. Its summit and sides are covered with the remains of ancient building; and it is astonishing, that, after the lapse of so many centuries, these walls appear to have lost nothing of their regular construction.

From the bed of the canal, and a quarter of a mile to the North-west, over a space marked by memorials of the past, interspersed with patches of the camel thorn, stands the Tauk Kesra, a magnificent monument of antiquity,* surprising the spectator with the perfect state of its preservation, after having braved the warring elements for so many ages; without an emblem to throw any light upon its history; without proof, or character to be traced on any brick or wall.

This stupendous, stately fragment of ages

* See Appendix, H.

long since forgot, is built of fine furnace-burnt bricks, each measuring twelve inches square by two and three quarters thick, and coated with cement. The full extent of the front, or eastern face, is three hundred feet. It is divided by a high semicircular arch, supported by walls sixteen feet thick; the arch itself making a span of eighty-six feet, and rising to the height of one hundred and three feet. The front of the building is ornamented and surmounted by four rows of small arched recesses, resembling in form the large one. The style and execution of these are most delicate, evincing a fertile invention and great experience in the architectural art.

From the vestibule a hall extends to the depth of one hundred and fifty-six feet East and West, where a wall forms the back of the building, a great portion of which, together with part of the roof, is broken down. In the centre of the wall, or western face of the structure, a doorway, measuring twenty-four

feet high by twelve wide, leads to a contiguous heap of mounds, extending to the bank of the river, about a quarter of a mile distant. The general shape of these hillocks is elliptical, and their circumference two miles.

To the right are fragments of walls, and broken masses of brickwork; to the left, and therefore to the south of the arch, are the remains of vast structures, which, though encumbered with heaps of earth, are yet sufficiently visible to fill the mind of the spectator with astonishment, at the thought that the destroying hand of Time could have failed in entirely concealing, from the inquiring eye, these wrecks of remote antiquity.*

* The natives of this country assert, that the ruins are of the age of Nimrod, of whom, in Scripture, it is said, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."—Gen. chap. x. ver. 10.

A celebrated antiquary, M. de Broses, one of the Presidents of the Royal Academy in Paris, supposes that Calneh stood on the site of Ctesiphon.—*Memoires de l'Academie Royale*, tome xxvii. p. 31.

I dug into the sides and bases of many of these mounds. Their foundations were invariably composed of the fire-burnt brick, while the sun-burnt formed the exterior or higher mass of each heap. I had the satisfaction of discovering a silver coin of one of the Parthian kings, a brass coin of Seleucus Nicator, and three talismanic perforated cylinders, which differ in no respect from the Babylonian. All are in an equally perfect state. There is no doubt that the natives often pick up coins of gold, silver, and copper; for which they always find a ready sale in Bagdad. Indeed, some of the wealthy Turks and Armenians, who are collecting for several French and German Consuls, hire people to go in search of coins, medals, and antique gems: and I am assured they never return to their employers empty-handed.

The riches contained within the venerable pile I have just described appear to have been immense. The sack of the palace by the Saracens, as related by Gibbon, took place in

the A. D. 637. "The capital was taken by assault, and the tumultuous resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, 'This is the white Palace of Chosroes! this is the promise of the Apostle of God!' The poor robbers of the Desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure, secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed. The gold and silver, the various wardrobes and costly furniture, surpassed (says Abulfeda,) the estimate of fancy or numbers. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth; a paradise, or garden, was depictured on the ground; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery, and the colours of the precious stones; and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and verdant border.

"The Arabian General persuaded his soldiers to relinquish their claim, in the reasonable hope that the eyes of the Caliph would be delighted with the splendour of the workmanship. Regardless of the merit of art and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina: the picture was destroyed; but such was the intrinsic value of the materials, that the share of Ali alone was sold for twenty thousand drams.

"A mule that carried away the tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets of Chosroes, was overtaken by the pursuers. The gorgeous trophy was presented to the commander of the faithful, and the gravest of the companions condescended to smile when they beheld the white beard, the hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who was invested with the spoils of the great king. The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by its desertion and gradual decay. The Saracens disliked the air and

situation of the place; and Omar was advised by his General to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates.*

At a distance of five hundred yards North, ten degrees West of Tauk Kesra, is the tomb of Selman Pauk, otherwise Selman the Pure, or Pious,† who, the Turks affirm, was once a Christian, but eventually became a follower of the prophet Mohammed, who appointed him his barber; which situation he filled for many years. Hence, all the professors and operators of chirurgery, phlebotomy, chiropody, "*et hoc genus omne*," perform a yearly pilgrimage from Bagdad to his tomb; which is surrounded by a brick wall, encompassing a good court, and having commodious accommodation, answering every purpose of a caravansary.

To the South-west, and consequently in an oblique direction between the Tauk and the river, stand the ruins of a mosque, and two

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. ix. cap. 51.

† See Appendix, I.

mouldering tombs, forming an affecting contrast to its contemporary. These relics contain the ashes of *Hadhaifah*, the secretary of the prophet, and the Caliph Moostasem Billah, who was killed by Hulakoo,* the Mogul conqueror of Persia, and grandson of the famous Zengis, or Ghengis Khan.

Among the scattered fragments of brick-work and loose pieces of tile and stones within the ruined quadrangular wall, enclosing the tombs, I found the exuviæ of snakes in abundance; and from its vicinity to the Tigris, it must, severely suffer by the regular overflowings of its waters.

Having examined the remains of Ctesiphon, I crossed over to the site of the once magnificent and populous Greek city,† and at every

* This Prince established the Mogul dynasty.

† "Seleucia was built by Seleucus Nicator, forty miles from Babylon, *at a point of the confluence of the Euphrates with the Tigris, by a canal.* There were six hundred thousand citizens here at one time, and all the commerce and wealth of Babylon had flowed into it. The territory on which it stood was called Babylonia; but it was itself a free state,

step had new occasion to muse upon the scene of desolation which presented itself, as far as the eye could reach. Time, violence, and repeated inundations have levelled every thing. I looked in vain for monuments, pillars, aqueducts, and buildings. Bricks of every kind, mixed up with layers of straw; varnished tiles, and pottery of every colour, (the predominant one being blue); stones calcareous, sandy, and granite; flint-glass, shells, and a variety of vitreous and nitrous substances; these, and these alone, compose what remains of the once magnificent Seleucia.

There is not a single entire building; nothing but a small remnant of a wall and a few portions of decayed brickwork, is left to mark the foot of the spoiler, and bid us mourn in silence and solitude over fallen and departed grandeur. The traveller ought to

and the people lived after the laws and manners of the Macedonians. The form of the walls was said to resemble an eagle spreading her wings, and the soil around it was thought the most fertile in the East."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 26.

visit Seleucia, previous to passing over to Ctesiphon; by so doing, he will not expect to meet with any thing half so grand as the arch which rivets him to the spot, which, in this part of the world, in point of architectural beauty, is perfectly unique.

This structure I surveyed first, so ardent was my solicitude to reach the porch of the building, after having caught a glimpse of it the evening before. With a mind full of its beauties, I passed on to Seleucia; and there being no building, not even the fragment of one visible, I experienced, I must confess, great grief and disappointment. It is, however, surprising, that so much is still left to mark the sites of these once great cities, situated as they are in a country that is inundated for so many months in the season. Even at this moment, which is the driest time of the whole year, there are pools of water inhabited by large flocks of bitterns;* and herbage is scattered over the

* The Ardea stellaris of Linnæus.

plain; but on the site of Ctesiphon, the smallest insect under heaven would not find a single blade of grass wherein to hide itself, nor one drop of water to allay its thirst.

Although former travellers who have visited this spot, do not speak of any remains on the river, I have no hesitation in pointing to the fragments of a bridge, which appears once to have connected the two cities, from the vast quantity of ruined materials lying in heaps on either bank, composed of fire-burnt bricks made of argillaceous earth, and a great quantity of detached brickwork beneath the water. The shallowness of the river afforded me an opportunity of observing this very particularly, and induced me to procure the aid of divers, who invariably brought up bricks broken and unbroken, remarkable for their hardness and solidity. Hence I would infer, that these fragments now resting on the river's bed, could only have been appropriated to the purpose already mentioned.

The reader will be better able to judge of

the extent of the irregular mounds and hillocks that overspread the sites of these renowned cities, when I tell him, that it would occupy some months to take the bearings and dimensions of each with accuracy. In this undertaking, great interruption and much molestation would be offered by the Arabs who tend their cattle, sheep, and camels on the spot, and who are so very suspicious, that no excavation can be made without their supposing some hidden treasure has been discovered. Consequently, these people would do all in their power to prevent the antiquary from continuing his researches, or even remaining here for any length of time. At this period it would be impossible to make the attempt, both from the disturbed and unsettled state of the country, which, I lament to add, is scarcely ever in a state of tranquillity, and from the spirit of rebellion and tyranny innate in the heart of all Moslemites from Constantinople to the Erythrean Sea. I do not apply this remark to Greece, as I am in hopes we have driven them from that sacred soil.

The prevailing report and opinion among the Turks at the time I am writing is, that the combined powers of Europe have accomplished this much-wished-for event. I have now only to add, that the greater part of the remains of Ctesiphon extend in a northerly direction; whilst the masses of ruin on the site of Seleucia stretch away to the southward, and are altogether at a greater distance from the bank of the river than Ctesiphon. The Greek city appears to occupy a more considerable tract of country, although its remains are, to all appearance, of lesser magnitude than its Parthian neighbour.*

I shall briefly notice, in this part of my journal, on the authority of Gibbon, the repeated calamities and ultimate ruin of the chief of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. For many ages, Seleucia retained the

* The site of Seleucia is in the neighbourhood of a very ancient place, called Coche, "in confluente Euphratis, fossa perducta atque Tigris," says Pliny: this canal bears the appellative, Nahar Malka, "quod significat fluvius regum."

genuine character of a Grecian colony, renowned for arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles; the people consisted of six hundred thousand citizens. The walls of the city were strong, and as long as concord prevailed among the several orders of the state, the inhabitants viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian: but the madness of faction was sometimes provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was posted almost at the gates of the colony.

The Parthian monarchs, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the Imperial camp was pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia. The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism resorted to the court, and the little village of Ctesiphon insensibly grew into a great city.

Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia, A. D. 165. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Both cities lie about nineteen miles to the South of Bagdad.

NOVEMBER 7th.—It was past midnight before I persuaded myself to quit the mouldering walls of this ancient city. The cloudless sky was studded with stars, and the air so beautifully soft and pure, that I could not be unmindful of being in the land of Chaldea, where the shepherds lay gazing on the same constellations, and from them derived the first lessons of astronomy.

For two hours I had been seated beneath a ruined rampart of the city, which appeared to be the most perfect mass on the desert plain.

It extended five hundred yards North, and rose from beneath the mounds for twenty-five feet. From this spot, by the light of the moon, I beheld, for the last time, the crumbling and solitary ruins. The deep repose of the scene was scarcely disturbed; for the breeze that wafted the sound of the browsing camel's tinkling bell, was all that broke the calm silence that prevailed around me, and

——"Mid Heaven's blue arch serene,
Th' unclouded moon smiled down upon the scene."

While contemplating these scattered fragments by the light of the moon, the solemnity and stillness of the scene, and the memorials of departed grandeur on all sides, powerfully affected my imagination!

Leaving Seleucia, I proceeded North-west till noon, when I crossed the Diala, over a bridge of boats. Its mouth is sixty yards broad, and at this time the stream was running with rapidity, a proof that the rains had already fallen on the mountains. When this

river is low, the natives are unable to drink of its waters, their qualities being so very saline. The people of the country only know this classical river by the appellation of Diala; its apparent course from this place is N. N. W.*

At five in the afternoon, I reached the suburbs of the celebrated residence of the Caliphs; when, to escape observation, I embarked on the Tigris, and had a fine view of Bagdad. The lofty pointed minarets, and swelling domes of the beautifully-shaped mosques reflecting the rays of the sun, gave them a white appearance, and exhibited a very striking effect, which disappeared on my entering the walls of the city; where I was met by two Noubechi's †, who conducted me to Aga Minas, the British Agent, who kindly received and hospitably entertained me. This Armenian is an intelligent and active servant of the Indian

* Hence to Koote, the Tigris is called Diglah, from a town of that name about fifty miles to the North of Bagdad.

† Armed footmen of the British residency in the Pashalic.

government; having held the situation of Dragoman to the East India Company's late residents in this city for thirty years. His father was also an effective servant in the time of Sir Harford Jones.

Remains of a Wall on the Site of Seleucia.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Rich.—His character.—The Pasha Daoud.—Risafah, a lofty minaret.—Village of Kauzumeen.—Mosque.—Tomb of Zobeide.—The Talism Gate.—Inscription.—Monastery of Dervishes.—The Madraset.—Caravansary and mosque founded by Mirjan.—Number of vagrants.—Their extreme wretchedness.—The Author assumes the Turkish dress.—Tull Akerkouf.—Canal.—Bronze figure.—Extensive ruins.—Robberies of the Arabs.—Circular pillars.—Azad Khaun.—Sheikh Shoubar.—Iskanderia.—Hadjee Suleiman.—Hillah.—Entrance to Babylon.

THE English traveller arriving in this city, will not fail to meet with the greatest attention from all classes of people, on account of the high veneration and respect they bear to the memory of the lamented Mr. Rich, the late British Resident; who upheld the honour of the nation he represented, and at the same time gained the greatest reputation himself,

during an administration of fourteen years.* The Turks and Christians fondly cherish the recollection of his many amiable qualities, and his name is imprinted on their hearts—too deeply, ever to be forgotten. I need hardly add, what heart-felt satisfaction this gave me; and, on walking through the streets, I could not but contrast the deportment of the Moslems with their Persian neighbours, particularly at the city of Shirauz, where the English traveller cannot with any degree of personal safety traverse the town without an attendant of the British Agent, and even then he is often stoned, and always abused and ridiculed.

Bagdad† is well known, from having been

* Mr. Rich was appointed the East India Company's resident at Bagdad, in 1806. In the year 1821, he quitted that city on a visit to Shirauz, (viâ Basra, and Bushire,) whence he was destined never to return, being carried off by an attack of *Cholera Morbus*, after an illness of eight hours. His remains were interred without the city walls; but the heartless Persians could not allow them to repose undisturbed, to the eternal disgrace of the Prince Houssain Ali Mirza; and in 1826, the Envoy to the Persian court removed his remains to the Armenian burying-ground at Ispahan.

† See Appendix, K. This city is called by Marco Polo, *Baldachi.*

the residence of the Caliphs; and, according to the observations made by several British officers, is in latitude 33° 19′ 40″ N. Colonel Macdonald Kinneir makes its longitude 44° 24″ E. That accomplished writer, in his admirable Memoir of the Persian Empire, has given such a correct account of this city, (as also of the town of Hillah, on the Euphrates,) that it would be presumption in me, and only engrossing the time and exhausting the patience of the reader, were I to offer any detailed description; though I trust for forgiveness in submitting a few notices here, on the principal buildings and monuments still standing to perpetuate the memory of many of the earlier commanders of the faithful.

According to the best-informed Mahomedan writers, the city was commenced by the Caliph Mansoor il Dewaniky, in the year 139, and completed in 146.* This Caliph erected a mosque without the walls, called Imaum Athum, and a college, both which buildings

* It is to be remarked that all these dates are of the Hegira.

are still to be seen; though on a part of the site of the latter, Daoud Pasha has erected a superb mosque, and two stately minarets. This man arrrived at Bagdad at the beginning of Suleiman Pasha's government, and was brought up like the other slaves in the palace. From the post of *Mohrdar*, or keeper of the seals, he was elevated to that of *Dufterdar*, or keeper of the records, when Suleiman Pasha gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Being on bad terms with his brother-in-law, he was neglected and slighted.

During this period he gave himself up to the study of divinity and Turkish law, until Abdalla's elevation to the Musnud. This Pasha appointed Daoud likewise to the situation of Dufterdar, in which capacity he displayed both wisdom and courage. He also held a similar office under Saaeed Pasha, who wished to make him his *Kehyah*, or lieutenant; but, being suspected of intrigue, he was superseded, and fearing lest he might lose his head, fled to Sulimaniah, where, with the assistance of Mahommed Ali

Mirza, he in a short time succeeded to the Pashalick; in which elevated situation he has ever since remained.*

Mansoor's eldest son, Mahommed il Mahdee, built a lofty minaret, in the year 168, called Risafah, and situated in a bazaar now termed the Thread-market. It is the highest and oldest in the city, and stands near the centre; it is encircled with a Cufic inscription, beautifully executed in brickwork, but nearly defaced. Its spire, whence you may obtain a beautiful view of the river and its environs, still adds grace and dignity to the city. On a clear day the Tauk Kesra at Ctesiphon is plainly discernible.

The celebrated Haroun al Raschid erected a tomb to the memory of his lamented judge, Abu Yusuf, at Kauzumeen, a village about one hour's ride from the walls of Bagdad. That place is much visited by the Moslems,

* Keppel is decidedly wrong, when he asserts that this Pasha was a beggar at the palace gate. I have heard that Daoud was for some time in the service of Sir John Malcolm.

from the circumstance of two descendants of the Prophet being interred there.

The largest mosque in Kauzumeen was built by Shah Ismael, in the year 914; it has since been beautifully adorned by Aga Mahomed Khan, uncle to the present Shah, and the first Persian sovereign that made Tehraun a royal residence.

In the year 198, Haroun's eldest son, Mahomed Ameen, built a mosque, situated within the walls; near which stand the tomb and shrine of the beautiful Zobeide,* the wife and favourite of Al Raschid. This was erected by his second son, Abdalla al Mamoon, in 212. It is, however, a mean and inferior memorial for so celebrated a woman, and, consequently, cannot fail to create disappointment. The building is octangular, capped with a cone, exactly resembling a *pine-apple*, a form never

* "Nom d'une fille de Giâfer Ben Mansour, que le Khalife Haroun al Raschid épousa solennellement, et qui fut mère du Khalife Amin. Le Pélerinage qu'elle fit à la Mecque s'est rendu celèbre, à cause des grandes aumônes qu'elle fit sur sa route."—*D'Herbelôt.*

adopted at the present day: though there is a structure within the city which bears some resemblance to that mode of building; it was erected in the year 622, and is called Sheikh Shahaub-ul Deen.

The Talism gate is well worthy of observation, being the finest and largest in Bagdad, measuring fifty-six feet in height by fifty-one in diameter. It is walled up, in honour of Sultan Murad IV. who quitted the city by it, on his return to Constantinople, after having recovered Bagdad from the Persians. Some writers erroneously suppose, that the gate was built on occasion of the Sultan's triumphal entry; but this custom is only observed at the departure of royalty, from which time the gate is held sacred.

There is now within the walls a caravansary, built by a Pasha in 999; one of its gates is closed up in a like manner, and for a similar reason. The following is a literal translation of the Arabic inscription, written round the outer face of the Talism:

"In the name of the merciful and beneficent.—'*And if Abraham and Ismâael take the laws from the temple, our Lord will accept at our hands that thou art the hearer, the wise.*'*—This is what *he* commanded should be built; our Prince and Lord, the Imaum (obedience to whom is binding on all mankind); *Abu'l abbas Ahmed Al nasir li din Illah*, chief of the true believers; the successor appointed by the Lord of all worlds; the evidence of God, (on whom be glory and exaltation,) to all his creatures:—the peace and mercy of God be upon his spotless ancestors; may his true call on mankind to submission, aid, and guidance, continue to be the bounden duty of the faithful, *in listening and attention.* The completion was vouchsafed in the year 618. The mercy of God be on our master Mohammed, and his pious and immaculate house." †

In 590, the Caliph built a banquetting-house, on the left bank of the Tigris, within the city

* A verse of the Koran, usually introduced in such dedicatory lines. † See Appendix, L.

walls, which, since the time of Sultan Murad, has been a monastery of dervishes, of the Bektash order, so named from their founder, Hadjee Bektash; and, in 625, Moostanser Billah founded a school, which is now a khaun; and the old kitchen is the present Custom-house.

The annexed inscription is to be traced on the walls of the Madraset, ul Mustansariah, situated at the head of the bridge in Bagdad:

" In the name of the merciful and beneficent God.—' *And there is a sect amongst you who invite to holiness, command piety, and forbid vice; and these are the saved.*' * The servant of God, and his Khalif, Abu Jaafer al Mansoor al Mustanser Billah, chief of the faithful, with whose dominion may God exalt the Moslems, commanded the commencement of this propitious college; looking to the favour of that being who destroyeth not the reward of the pious, and desiring the acceptance of the Lord of worlds, and the chief of prophets;

* A verse of the Koran, as above.

whose excellent commands and dominion may God assist, by the power of whose resplendent kingdom may he exalt the cause of Islam, and by its comeliness bless mankind with the resplendent truth.

"This glorious college was completed with the aid of the all-powerful, and of the uncontaminate scripture, and with supplications to the strong pillar of support, and this in the year 630. Peace to our master Mohammed the prophet, and to his house." *

In the year 758, Mirjan, minister to the Sultan, came from Persia, whence he solicited permission to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca; but his subsequent conduct in seizing on the government of Bagdad, proved that this holy project was but a mere pretence. He founded a khaun, or caravansary, which is in good repair to this day; and a mosque, called after him, Merjaniah, upon the walls of which this inscription is to be seen:

* See Appendix, M.

"In the name of God, the merciful and the beneficent.—'*As to temples, God hath permitted that they should be raised, and that, in them, men should remember his name and should glorify him therein, in the morning and in the evening; men whom neither traffic nor sale beguileth from the remembrance of God.*'* The dependent on the compassion of the most merciful king, Mirjan, son of Abdallah, son of Abdurrahman, the Sultani, the Oolkhani, commenced this: may his devotion find acceptance with God in both worlds; and the peace of God be on our master Mohammed and his family, and his companions, pious and uncontaminate, A. H. 758." †

The pleasure I derived from making these short excursions in and around the city, was greatly diminished at beholding the numbers of vagrants who were seen lying about the streets; victims of poverty, sickness, and famine. The women and children were truly piteous objects, and in a state of nudity. I never saw such mi-

* From the Koran. † See Appendix, N.

After a walk of three hours, on a bearing due W. N. W., we gained the summit of an elevated mound, supporting a ponderous mass of ruin, which is called by the Arabs Tull Akerkouf, vulgarly *Agergoaf*, and by the Turks Nemroud Tepessy, both which appellations signify the Mound of Nemroud, or Nimrod, not the *Tower* of Nemroud, as it has been translated. Our path was partially strewed with loose pieces of burnt and unburnt brick and tile. At times we saw a dead camel, from which we scared several hungry hawks, that were feasting on the offensive carcase.

At the seventh mile we crossed the dry bed of a canal of great magnitude, supposed by some to be the river Narraga of Pliny, near which, he says, was a city called Hipparenum.* This canal is said to be the remains of the canal of Isa, and is supposed to connect the Tigris

* "Sunt etiamnum in Mesopotamiâ oppida: Hipparenum, Chaldœorum doctrinâ clarum, et hoc, sicut Babylonia, juxta fluvium Narragam, qui dedit civitati nomen. Muros Hipparenorum Persæ diruêre."—*Plin.* lib. vi. cap. 26.

with the river Euphrates, at a point where these rivers approach each other; but in following its course I found that it discharges itself into the Tigris four miles *below* Bagdad: a circumstance that refutes its identity with the canal of Isa. This channel ran North and South. Hence, until we arrived in the vicinity of the ruins, we passed small parties of Arabs, who were employed in tending their flocks and herds. Not far from one of these encampments I found a bronze figure, apparently of an European, in the costume of the middle ages.

Bronze figure found near Akerkouf.

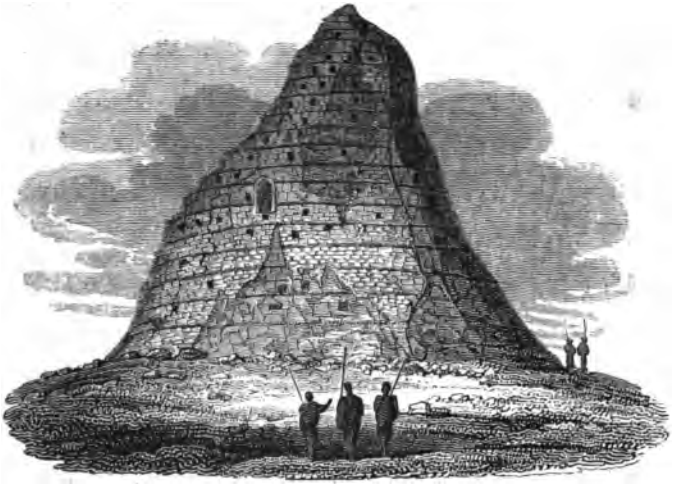
The ruins of a city are here very apparent, extensive undulating mounds stretching towards the South and East; while to the North and West they are comparatively small, and extend only a short distance from their giant-like neighbours. This ruin sweeps irregularly upwards, and its form appears to have been originally square, for the bricks are placed so as to favour this opinion; it does not, however, exactly face the cardinal points, as some former travellers assert. It is entirely composed of sun-dried bricks, made of clay mixed with chopped straw, each measuring a square of nine inches by four in thickness. At every *seventh* * course of bricks, a layer of reeds is placed between the horizontal courses of the brickwork, without any apparent cement. These layers are very regular from top to bottom; but

* Mr. Rich is mistaken, when he says that the layers of reed are between every fifth or sixth layer of bricks, and that the number is not regulated. He has likewise made the circumference of the ruin one hundred feet less than it really is.—*Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, p. 41.

the bricks composing this colossal mass are of uncommon beauty, when we consider the material of which they are composed. This structure certainly has been the habitation of some important personage; nay, I almost fancy I beheld the residence of a rich and powerful sovereign.*

The ruin is, without doubt, solid, and is pierced with small holes, which appear to have been designed for the purpose of admitting a free current of air; but some imagine they held the scaffolding when the workmen were employed in its erection. Large wooden beams are passed through, apparently to strengthen the huge fabric of brickwork. On the North-eastern face, nearly in the centre, is an aperture, somewhat resembling a Gothic window; for what purpose it was intended, it is now impos-

* "Cependant on ne peut pas bien decider aujourd'hui à quel dessein cet edifice a été élevé. Peut-être étoit-ce le terrein sur lequel un des premières Califes de Bagdad, ou même un des Rois de Perse qui residoit à al Modaien, avoit une maison de campagne, pour prendre un air fraix et froid, sur la hauteur."—*M. Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie*, ii.tome p. 248. 4to.



Remarkable ruin, called Tull Akerkouf.

sible to determine. Tavernier relates, that "a little way from Bagdad, there is the foundation of a city, which may seem to have been a large league in compass. There are some of the walls yet standing, made of burnt brick, ten feet square, and three thick."* Tavernier, no doubt, alludes to these ruins; he conceived it to be the remains of some tower, built by one

* Tavernier, vol. ii. c. v.

of the Arab princes, for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war: this, in all probability, was near the truth. From the summit to the base of the brickwork, it is one hundred and twenty-five feet,* the circumference is four hundred feet, and from the brickwork to the foundation of the rubbish, which now forms its pedestal, it is twenty feet. A vast number of dried bats are to be seen in the small cavities of the structure. I do not think this ruin ever exhibited the written character, or the bitumen which is used throughout the Babylonian remains; nor in searching among the surrounding mounds, could I trace vestiges of building in any mass resembling the remnants of a regular architectural structure; though the surface of these mounds was strewed with broken bricks, earthenware vessels, vitrified pieces of clay, many perfectly black; and small stones, once forming a portion of, but now surviving the clay that formed

* Niebuhr states the height of this ruined monument at seventy Danish feet.

the principal ingredient of every brick. As the rain fell in torrents, I only remained at Akerkouf for two hours: I came prepared to attempt some excavations on its site, but the weather precluded the practicability of it, and compelled us to retrace our steps to Bagdad, where we arrived at nightfall.

My attention now became devoted to the ruins of BABYLON, the parent city of the world, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, the audacious assailant of the empyrean,—now a heap and a wilderness, a dwelling-place for dragons, and bereaved of man; still lowering o'er the Desert, still frowning defiance and disdain of time and the warring elements, though spurned alike by the heel of the Ottoman, the Israelite, and the sons of Ishmael.

With an imagination loaded and oppressed by the recollection of its splendour and its vicissitudes, I hastily concluded a few necessary preparations, and retaining the Turkish dress, started on the morning of the 28th, and crossed the bridge of boats already noticed,

with a small cavalcade consisting of a Chocadar* from the Pasha, who acted as Tissaphernes, one Chaóosh, (a herald, or running footman,) in the service of Aga Minas, and an armed Desert Arab, who considered that his presence would be of more utility in case of any attack on the road, than the united force of a whole caravan.

The Arabs are certainly retrogressive, in point of improvement and civilization. Seven years ago, a robbery on the Hillah road was unheard of; now, it occurs weekly: large caravans are stopped and plundered, and no inquiry or search is made after the audacious perpetrators. In fact, the other day, a rich caravan had scarcely quitted the gates of this city, on its route to Aleppo, before the people of the Desert attacked it, and carried off property to a very considerable amount.

But to return:—Clearing the walls, I dismounted, and proceeded on foot, over an excel-

* Chokhadar, or Ich Agâsi of the Pashalic of Bagdad; one of the pages of the Pasha's presence.

lent road running S. 10° W., while my horsemen went before, and amused themselves by throwing the jereed, an amusement too often described to need any description from me.

The first objects that attract the eye on leaving the city, are two low circular pillars on each side of the road, built chiefly of brick, *inlaid* with the heads of two hundred of the Khezail Arabs, taken by the Pasha's army in their last engagement with this tribe.* A little before nine we passed a khaun, or caravansary, which must once have been a handsome building; but is now forsaken, and falling fast into ruins. It is called Keyah Khaun, from its founder Ahmed, the Kehyah, lieutenant or minister, of Suleiman Pasha;† it is about seven miles and a half from Bagdad.

* The Zobeide Arabs inhabit the whole of this district.

† Rather more than fifty years ago, this three-tailed Bashaw was the Mutessellim (governor) of Bussorah. On the surrender of that city to the Persians, he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Shirauz, where he remained until the death of Kerim Khan in 1779, at which period he effected his escape, and successfully sued the Porte for the pashalic of Bagdad.

At a distance of five miles from it, is Azad Khaun, a miserable dirty halting-place, built by Omar Pasha in the year of the Hegira 1092. Continuing, as usual, S. 10° W. we passed another caravansary, called by the Arabs Bir-en-neuss, or el-Neuss, its true appellative being Bur-il-nusf, meaning a well half dug out, or the half-way well. There is a Turkish tomb here, but whether of saint or of sinner I could not learn.

From Azad Khaun to this last station, we crossed the remains of several dry water-channels and canals, of great depth and width, some of which are attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.* Of these the famed *fluvius regum* of that monarch is not the least important, though at present dry and neglected.

On an elevated and conspicuous mound, within six hundred yards of the road, is a quadrangular ruin, composed of reeds and sun-

* See Appendix, O.

dried bricks, thirty feet high, and two hundred and fifty in circumference. The ground about it was covered with the usual vestiges of former buildings. The spot is called by the natives Sheikh Shoubar, and is visible at a considerable distance. About half-way between the two last stages, and over a small canal, is an old ruinous bridge, of one arch, of the best fire-burnt material.

Next to Mushhed Ali,* the finest hawks in the country for hunting the antelope are taken here. Antelopes are found in the neighbourhood in great numbers; for during the whole of the day, we saw these beautiful quadrupeds feeding among the thistles and short herbage, occasionally bounding before us as we disturbed them by our presence. They are frequently shot by the Arabs, who are too lazy to take them in the chase. From Khaun Azad to this

* This city, according to Kinneir, was founded by Alexander the Great, and was, for a considerable time, called Alexandria. It is thirty miles from Hillah, and four from Kufa, a town founded by Omar.

place I made the distance seven miles and a half.

One hour before sunset brought us to a very spacious caravansary, the customary halting place. It is called Iskanderia, from the ruins of a village, and the bed of a canal in the neighbourhood. A ruinous khaun of the same name is still standing, though now deserted. The present inhabited building was erected during the last century, at the expense of the late Mohammed Hussein Khan, formerly Nizam-ad-Dowlah, or Home Minister of Futteh Ali Shah, for the convenience of Persian pilgrims, when on their road to Messhed Ali, the most distinguished place of pilgrimage which they possess. From several ridges of earth covered with vestiges of building, lying in every direction, I should imagine this spot to be the site of some considerable town; and the bricks are so plentiful, that the material of which the menzil is constructed, was gathered upon the spot. Iskanderia is two hours journey from Bir-el-Nusf, and lies in latitude 32° 56′ 18″, longitude 4°

west of Bagdad. The water is very noxious here, as well as at all the caravanserais between Bagdad and Hillah.

NOVEMBER 29th.—We advanced at daylight, in the usual direction south, varying at intervals a little to the eastward, when two hours and three-quarters brought us to a mean building, called Hadjee Suleiman. It was founded by an Arab, upon whose family the Sultan Murad conferred the title of *Beg*, answering to our *Baronet*, as it is hereditary—with this difference, that on the father's death, should there be one or more sons, they all enjoy the title at the same time.

At this caravansary a deep canal crosses the road, cut from the Euphrates, near the village of Naseriat, which bears north twenty-five degrees west. Journeying for two hours more we reached Muhawwil, where there is a village of Fellahs, and consequently some cultivation is visible, for the first time since we quitted Bagdad. In fact, the whole country is an unin-

teresting, dull, and flat plain, without an object to please the eye, or relieve the monotonous irksome scene, except the abrupt embankments of canal beds. The dreariness of this tract forcibly elucidates the words of the prophet Jeremiah :—" I was truly led through the wilderness, through a land of deserts and of pits, through a land of drought, and where no man dwelt." *

The distance is fourteen miles from the fine khaun at Iskanderia, to Muhawwil; which place I consider to be only separated from the commencement of the site of ancient Babylon, by the high embankments of three canals, (one of which, I am inclined to think, may have been the ditch of the venerable city;) over the first of which is a bridge of one arch, (decidedly modern) † and a large body of running water, (introduced from the Euphrates by a Pasha,

* Jeremiah, chap. ii. v. 6.

† This bridge has since fallen in.

for the purposes of irrigation,) taking a direction east and west. Hence vestiges of former ancient edifices are discovered, ramifications of which extend for an immense distance over the desert.

Half an hour before sunset I entered the suburbs of Hillah, and crossed a bridge of thirty-four boats, constructed of pontoons, like that of Bagdad, but in worse repair. I ascertained the breadth of the Euphrates, at this point, to be 150 yards. From the last caravansary at Muhawwil, the road was covered, on every side, with irregular hillocks and mounds, formed over masses of ruin, presenting, at every step, memorials of the past. In fact, our path lay through the great mass of ruined heaps on the site of "shrunken Babylon;"—and I am perfectly incapable of conveying an adequate idea of the dreary, lonely nakedness that appeared around me, on entering the gates of the once mighty metropolis, where "the queen of nations" sat en-

throned; nor can I portray the overpowering sensation of reverential awe that possessed my mind, while contemplating the extent and magnitude of ruin and devastation on every side.

CHAPTER VI.

Extensive mounds.—The Mujellibah.—Town of Hillah.—Its situation, filthy state, &c.—Mahmoud Beg, the present governor.—Gardens.—Rapidity of the Euphrates.—Remarks on ancient Babylon.—The city built by Semiramis.—Extent of the walls.—Erection of a bridge.—Palaces.—Temple to Jupiter.—The city enlarged and beautified by Nebuchadnezzar.—Hanging gardens.—Canals.—Ancient splendour of the city.—Taken by Cyrus.—Besieged and captured by Darius.—Height of the walls.—Decay and desolation of Babylon.

AFTER passing the second canal embankment, a circular mound of great elevation appeared on the right of the road. The superficies of its summit and sides was covered with fragments of buildings, composed of furnace-burnt brick, bitumen, reeds, and pieces of stone engraved with the arrow-headed writing upon them; while portions of the ground in the immediate vicinity were white with nitre.

Three hundred yards further, there is another of much greater altitude, its vertex being thickly covered with broken painted tile, glass, and bricks. Hence dependent mounds branch off in every direction, all of equal antiquity with Babylon itself.

Two miles beyond this is a massive embankment, extending towards the east and west, and seeming to enclose the ruins at either extremity. Its superficies exhibits fragments of decayed brick, stones, pottery, and tile. To the south, at about a quarter of a mile to the right of the road, is a vast mountain of ruin, (the Mujellibah,) towering above a series of intervening mounds in inexpressible grandeur. Although no very distinct traces of a ditch can be found, nor can any decided characteristic mark of the exterior walls of the venerable city be discovered by the superficial investigator; yet, from its present appearance and situation, I cannot entertain the shadow of a doubt of its being a remnant of those ruined masses; and could the antiquary prosecute an unin-

terrupted, comprehensive, and close examination, he would, in all probability, discover the line of these long-sought mural demarcations. Can we ever sufficiently lament the circumstance of the country being in the hands of barbarians?

The distance of the before mentioned embankment from Hillah is full five miles, and the circular mounds eight.* Hillah† itself is distant from Bagdad forty-nine miles; it is situated in latitude 32° 31′ 18″, longitude 44° 20′ east of Greenwich. The accurate Niebuhr has placed it in latitude 32° 28′, and Beauchamp 32° 25′. The latter performed the journey twice from Bagdad to Hillah, in sixteen hours and thirty minutes. The town was built in the year of the Hegira 495, from the ruins of Babylon, which, on the eastern side of the river, lie about two miles distant.

Hillah is an insignificant place, and nearly

* The limits of the celebrated city, by Strabo's computation, is 385 furlongs, by Diodorus 360, by Curtius 368, and Herodotus (the oldest author of them all) 480; or a little more than sixty miles in circuit.

† See Appendix P.

rivals the city of Bussorah in filth and offensive effluvia. Its population has been decreasing, particularly since it became the scene of contention and bloodshed about two years and a half ago: I could not learn the amount of it with any degree of precision, but I think it may be estimated at six thousand souls. The present governor, Mahmoud Beg, or rather Bey, is an officer in the service of the Pasha of Bagdad: he farms it for four lacs of raej piastres yearly, a sum equivalent to £7000 sterling.

The gardens in the vicinity are extremely productive, although agriculture is greatly neglected; in fact, a few words will forcibly describe its present state, and exhibit the poverty, indolence, oppression, and desolation that reign over it.

I was much struck with the force and rapidity of the Euphrates at Hillah, from having always heard it asserted that the Tigris flowed more swiftly. At this point the attribute is inapplicable; for, at the time I am writing, the stream is pursuing its course at the rate

of three knots and a half an hour, while the Tigris flows at scarcely three. * From the house in which I lodged, (about two furlongs from the bridge,) I could at night distinctly hear the rushing of the water beneath the bridge; whereas it is never audible at Bagdad, not even to those who live on the brink, and opposite the floating bridge. Hence, I conceive that the epithet "sluggish," when applied to the majestic Euphrates, is improper.

Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about fifty years before the birth of Christ, observes, that the city was in ruins long before his time, and that the spot was an object of interest and inquiry. The following observations on ancient Babylon are so minute and elaborate, that they may not prove unacceptable.

"Semiramis, who was naturally of an aspiring spirit, and ambitious to excel all her predecessors in glorious actions, employed all

* In May 1828, I again crossed these rivers, and ascertained their respective velocity. The Euphrates flowed past Hillah at seven knots an hour, and the Tigris at five knots and a half.

her thoughts about the building of Babylon; and having provided architects, artificers, and all other necessaries for the undertaking, she employed two millions of men in building of the city. It was so erected, as that the river Euphrates ran through the middle of it, and surrounded with a wall of three hundred and sixty furlongs in circuit, and adorned with many stately turrets; and such was the state and grandeur of the work, that the walls were of that breadth, as that six chariots abreast might be driven together upon them. The height was such, as exceeded all men's belief that heard of it (as Ctesias relates).

"But Clitarchus, and those who afterwards went over with Alexander into Asia, have written that the walls were three hundred and sixty-five furlongs, the queen making them of that compass, to the end that the furlongs should be as many in number, as the days of the year. They were of brick, cemented with bitumen; in height, as Ctesias says, fifty orgyas, (each six feet,) but, as some of the later authors report, but fifty cubits only, and that

the breadth was but a little more than what would allow two chariots to be driven in front. There were two hundred and fifty turrets; in height and thickness, proportionable to the largeness of the wall. It is not to be wondered at, that there were so few towers upon a wall of so great a circuit, being that in many places round the city, there were deep morasses, so that it was judged to no purpose to raise turrets there, where they were so naturally fortified. Between the wall and the houses, there was a space left round the city of two hundred feet.

"That the work might be the more speedily despatched, to each of her friends was allotted a furlong, with an allowance of all expenses necessary for their several parts, and commanded all should be finished in a year's time, which being diligently perfected with the queen's approbation, she then made a bridge over the narrowest part of the river, five furlongs in length; on either side of the river she raised a bank as broad as the wall, and with great cost drew it out in length an hundred furlongs. She built like-

wise two palaces at each end of the bridge, on the banks of the river, where she might have a prospect over the whole city, and make her passage, as by keys, to the most convenient places in it, as she had occasion.

" And whereas the Euphrates runs through the midst of Babylon, making its course to the south, the palaces lie the one on the east, and the other on the west side of the river, both built at exceeding costs and expense. For that on the west had a high and stately wall, made of well-burnt bricks, sixty furlongs in compass, (seven miles and a half;) within this was drawn another, of a round circumference, upon which were portrayed on the bricks, before they were burnt, all sorts of living creatures, as if it were to the life, laid with great art in curious colours. This wall was in circuit forty furlongs, three hundred bricks thick, and in height (as Ctesias says,) fifty orgyas, or one hundred yards, upon which were turrets one hundred and forty yards high.

" The third and most inward wall immedi-

ately surrounded the palace, thirty furlongs in compass, and far surmounted the middle wall both in height and thickness, and on this wall and towers were represented the shapes of all sorts of living creatures, artificially represented in the most lively colours. To this palace likewise she built three gates, under which were apartments of brass for entertainments, into which passages were opened by a certain engine.

"This palace far excelled that on the other side of the river, both in greatness and adornments. For the outmost wall of that, (namely on the west,) made of well-burnt brick, was but thirty furlongs in compass. When the river was turned aside into a reservoir, and a vault built across its old bed, the stream was suffered to flow over the work in its old channel, so that Semiramis could go from one palace to the other by this vault, without passing over the river. She made, likewise, two brazen gates, at either end of the vaults, which continued to the time of the Persian empire.

"In the MIDDLE OF THE CITY, she built a

temple to Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Belus, of which, since writers differ among themselves, and the work is now wholly decayed through length of time, there is nothing that can with certainty be related concerning it; yet it is apparent that it was of exceeding great height; and that, by the advantage of it, the Chaldean astrologers exactly observed the setting and rising of the stars. The whole was built of brick cemented with bitumen, with great art and cost. Upon the top were placed three statues of beaten gold, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, with other splendid vessels, tables, and ornaments of gold and precious stones, weighing altogether about six thousand Babylonish talents. But all these the Persian kings sacrilegiously carried away, and length of time has either altogether consumed or much defaced the palaces, and the other structures, so that at this day but a small part of this Babylon is inhabited, and the greatest part which lay within the wall is turned into pasture and tillage."*

* Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chapter 3.

After Nineveh was destroyed, Babylon became the queen of the East. Semiramis is said by some, and Belus, who is probably the same as Nimrod, by others, to have founded this city. It was Nebuchadnezzar, however, that made it one of the wonders of the world; he enlarged and beautified it to such a degree, that he may, in a manner, be said to have built it, as he boasts, (in *Daniel* iv. 30.) It was, according to the lowest account given of it by ancient historians, a regular square forty-five miles in compass, enclosed by a wall two hundred feet high and fifty broad, in which there were one hundred gates of brass. Its principal ornaments were, the temple of Belus, in the middle of which was a tower of eight stories of building, upon a base of a quarter of a mile square; a most magnificent palace; and the famous hanging gardens, which were an artificial mountain raised upon arches, and planted with trees of the largest as well as the most beautiful sorts.

The old palace was four miles in compass;

the new, built by Nebuchadnezzar, was four times as large. Two canals were made by Nebuchadnezzar a hundred miles above the city: one on the eastern side of the Euphrates, called Naharmalcha, or the royal river, by which the Euphrates was let into the Tigris; the other on the western side, called Pallacopas, by which the redundant waters of the Euphrates were carried into a vast lake forty miles square, contrived not only to lessen the inundation, but for a reservoir, with sluices, to water the barren country on the Arabian side. There were also prodigious banks of brick and bitumen carried a long way on each side of the river, to keep it within its channel."—*Dean Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament.*

Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city, as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for according to Strabo, it was only 385 furlongs in compass: but Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the

same dimensions as Nineveh, that is, 480 furlongs, or above 60 miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being 120 furlongs in length. So that, according to this account, Babylon occupied more ground than Nineveh; for by multiplying the sides, one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only 13,500 furlongs, and Babylon 14,400. It was too as ancient, or more ancient than Nineveh; for in the words of Moses, speaking of Nimrod, (*Genesis*, chap. x. v. 10.) it was *the beginning of his kingdom*, that is, the first city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say, that Semiramis, but most, (as Quintus Curtius asserts,) that Belus built it; and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar

particularly repaired, enlarged, and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it; as he boasted himself, (*Daniel*, chap. iv. v. 30.) "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"—Nor is this asserted only in Scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors—Megasthenes, Berosus, and Abydenus,—whose words are quoted by Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other, Babylon became so great and so famous a city, as to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in Scripture "great Babylon;" "the glory of kingdoms;" "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;" the "golden city;" the "lady of kingdoms;" the "praise of the whole earth:" and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake, made for the draining of that river in the seasons of

its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. Its gates of brass, and its broad walls, are particularly mentioned in Scripture: the city had a hundred gates, twenty-five on each side, all made of solid brass: its walls, according to Herodotus, were three hundred and fifty feet in height, and eighty-seven in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as Diodorus affirms after Ctesias.

The city was taken in the night of a great annual festival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and revelling; and, as Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some parts of the city perceived it: but Herodotus's account is more modest and probable; that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy, before they who dwelt in the middle of it suspected any thing of their danger. After this it never recovered its ancient splendour; from an imperial, it became a tributary city; from being governed

by its own kings, and governing strangers, it was in its turn governed by strangers; and the seat of empire being transferred to Shushan, it decayed by degrees, till it was reduced at last to utter desolation.

Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor, as the best means of keeping them obedient.

But, notwithstanding these precautions, they rebelled against Darius, and, in order to hold out to the last extremity, took all their women, and each man choosing one of them, out of those of his own family whom he liked best, they strangled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. They sustained the siege and all the efforts of Darius for twenty months; and at length the city was taken by stratagem.

As soon as Darius had made himself master of the place, he ordered three thousand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty which the Medes and Persians would use towards the Babylonians; he likewise demolished the wall, and took away the gates, neither of which, saith Herodotus, had Cyrus done before.* But either Herodotus or Berosus must have been mistaken; or we must suppose that the orders of Cyrus were never carried into execution; or we must understand Herodotus to speak of the inner wall, as Berosus spoke of the outer: and yet it does not seem very credible, when the walls were of that prodigious height and thickness, that there should be an inner and an outer wall too, much less that there should be three inner and three outer walls, as Berosus affirms.

Herodotus computes the height of the wall

* Muros circumcidit, et portas omnes amolitus est; quorum neutrum Cyrus jecerat prius eidem a se captæ.—Herod, lib. 3. cap. p. 223.—Edit. Gale.

to be two hundred cubits, but later authors reckon it much lower; Quintus Curtius at one hundred; Strabo, who is a more exact writer, at fifty cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude, therefore, that Darius reduced it from two hundred to fifty cubits.

Xerxes, after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal, being a professed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expenses, seized the sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon.—Such was the state of Babylon under the Persians.

When Alexander came thither, though Quintus Curtius says that the whole circuit of the city was three hundred and sixty-eight furlongs, yet he affirms that only for the space of ninety furlongs it was inhabited. The Euphrates having been turned out of its course by Cyrus, and never afterwards restored to its former channel, all that side of the country

was flooded by it. Alexander indeed purposed to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, * and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river; but he met with some difficulties in the work, and death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects, and none of his successors ever attempted it; and Seleucia being built a few years afterwards in the neighbourhood, Babylon in a little time became *wholly desolate.*

Seleucia not only robbed it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, being called also Babylon by several authors; quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur. (Plinii Nat. Hist.) We learn further from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valesius, and quoted from him by Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of

* Arrian de Exped. Alex. lib. vii. cap. 17. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 738. Edit. Paris, p. 1073. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

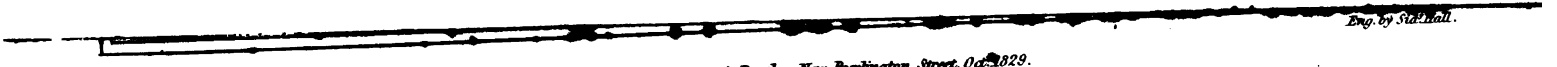
punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians, and for trifling causes, into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about 130 years before Christ. *

* Bishop Newton on the Prophecies.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of Babylon by Herodotus.—Its great extent.—Principal structures.—The castellated palace.—Temple and tower of Belus.—Tunnel made by Semiramis under the Euphrates.—The Belidian and Cissian Gates.—Extraordinary number of gates to the city.—Account of the Tower of Belus.—Its elevation.—Chapels attached to it.—Sepulchre of Belus.—Large statue.—Height of the tower, its form, &c.—Conjectures respecting it.—Extensive ranges of walls.—Supposed removal of ruins.—Concluding remarks on Babylon.

ACCORDING to the description of this city by Herodotus, it stood in a large plain: the exterior of it was a square, surrounded by a lofty wall; and it was divided into two equal parts by the Euphrates, which passed through it. In the centre of one of these divisions, stood the temple and tower of Belus; in the



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other, the spacious palace of the king. We have already spoken of the extraordinary dimensions of the wall that surrounded Babylon; which are variously estimated at from 360 to 480 stades. The last of these numbers is (as we have seen) from Herodotus, whose measures, both of the *enceinte* and every other part, are enormous and improbable, occasioned, as we are ready to believe, by corruptions of the text. As an instance of the latter, he is made to say, that reeds were placed at every thirtieth course of brick work, in the Babylonian buildings; but modern travellers find them at every sixth, seventh, or eighth course, in Aggarkuf, apparently a Babylonish building; and M. Beauchamp discovered them at *every* course, in some of the buildings in Babylon. We have therefore disregarded his calculations on the present occasion.

Even the dimensions given by Strabo are beyond probability, as far as respects the *height* of the walls, which he reckons at fifty cubits, or seventy-five feet. The thickness, thirty-two

feet, if meant of an earthen rampart faced with brick, falls short of our modern ramparts, which are about forty-eight feet at the base; the parapet alone being eighteen feet, yet leaving an ample space for two carriages to pass each other, which is the most that Strabo says of the space on the wall of Babylon. As a *cannon-proof* parapet was not required at Babylon, *several* carriages might have gone abreast on a rampart of equal solidity with ours. There is, therefore, nothing extraordinary in this particular.

Respecting the height and thickness of the walls of Babylon, there are great variations in the different reports. Probably, we ought to receive the accounts of the later writers as the most correct; for the same reason that we gave a preference to their statements respecting the extent of the city. The Macedonians and latter Greeks had more leisure to examine and measure the objects that presented themselves, than casual observers. Pliny seems to have copied Herodotus; whilst Strabo probably fol-

lowed the Macedonian reports. Diodorus also makes a striking distinction between the accounts of the *early* and the *later* writers. It may have been, that fifty cubits, or about seventy-five feet, was the height of the city wall, measured, perhaps, from the bottom of the ditch; and the thickness, thirty-two.

The following are the statements of the different authors, respecting the measures of Babylon.

	Circuit of stades.	Height of the walls. Cubits.	Feet.	Breadth of the walls. Cubits.	Feet.
Herodotus.....	480	200 =	300	50 =	75
Pliny, 60 M. P....	480				
Ctesias	360*		300		
Clitarchus.....	365				
Curtius	368	100 =	150		32
Strabo	385	50 =	75		32

With respect to the two principal structures in this stupendous city, the *castellated palace*, (called by some, the citadel,) and the *temple* and *tower* of *Belus*,—the general description of the

* Fifty *orgyia* are given; it should probably be fifty cubits.

first, is given by Diodorus; of the latter, by Herodotus. They are both wonderful in their kind: the first, for the extent of the ground which it covered, and which is represented to have been a square of near a mile and a half; the other for its bulk and height, its base alone being said to be a *cubic stade*, surmounted by seven towers, which successively diminished as they rose. More will be said concerning this tower in the sequel; when it will appear, that there must either be an error in the text of Herodotus in this place, or that he had been grossly deceived in his information.

Herodotus has not said in which of the divisions of the city the temple and palace were respectively situated; but it may be pretty clearly collected from Diodorus, that the temple stood on the *east* side, and the palace on the *west;* and the remains found at the present day accord with this idea. For, Diodorus describes the great palace to be on the *west* side, the lesser palace on the *east;* and there also was the

brazen statue of *Belus*. Now, he makes such a distinction between the two palaces, as plainly shows, that the one on the west was to be regarded as THE PALACE; and, consequently, was *the* palace intended by those, who represent a palace to answer on the *one* side, to the temple of Belus on the *other*. It is also to be inferred from Herodotus, Clio, 181, that the palace and the citadel were the same: he says, "the royal palace fills a large and strongly defended space," in the centre of one of the divisions. Diodorus says, that the temple stood in the centre of the *city;* Herodotus, in the centre of *that division* of the city in which it stood, as the palace in the centre of *its* division.

The description of Diodorus is pointed, with respect to the fact that the palace was near to the bridge, and consequently to the river bank: and he is borne out by the accounts of Strabo and Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to be very near the river; and all agree that they were within,

or adjacent to, the square of the *fortified palace.**

They were supplied with water, drawn up by engines from the Euphrates. Consequently, the palace should have stood nearer to the centre of the city itself, than to that of the division in which it stood, since the division was more than four miles broad; and it appears natural enough that the princess should avail herself of the prospect of a noble river, a stadium in breadth, flowing near the palace, instead of withdrawing two miles from it.† And

* Strabo, p. 738, says, that "the Euphrates flows through the middle of the city; and the pensile gardens are adjacent to the river, from whence they were watered."

† Diodorus has described a *vaulted passage* under the bed of the Euphrates, by which the queen (SEMIRAMIS) could pass from one palace to the other, on different sides of the river, (which was a stadium in breadth, according to Strabo, p. 738,) without crossing it. This serves at least to show, that the palaces were very near to the river banks.

At a time when a tunnel, of more than half a mile in length, under the Thames, is projected, it may not be amiss to mention the reported dimensions of the tunnel made by Semiramis, under the Euphrates; which, however, was no more than 500 feet in length, or less than one-fifth of the

it appears probable, that the temple was also at no great distance from the opposite bank of the river; that is, the *eastern* bank.*

A presumptive proof of the supposed position of the temple, should the words of Diodo-

projected tunnel under the Thames. That of Semiramis is said to have been fifteen feet in breadth and twelve in height, to the springing of the arch; perhaps twenty in all. The ends of the vault were shut up with brazen gates. Diodorus had an idea that the Euphrates was five stadia in breadth.—See lib. ii. c. i.

The Euphrates was turned out of its channel, in order to effect this purpose. Herodotus, who is silent concerning the tunnel, says, that the river was turned aside, in order to build a bridge. Diodorus describes a bridge also. There is an absurd story told by both these historians, respecting the disposal of the water of the river, during the time of building the bridge, &c. According to them, the water was received into a vast reservoir, instead of the obvious and usual mode of making a new channel, to conduct the river clear of the work constructing in its bed into the old channel, at a point lower down.

* Here it is proper to remark, that there is this specific difference between the descriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus: the first says, that the centres of the two divisions were occupied, respectively, by the palace and temple; but Diodorus, by two palaces; and although he speaks of the temple also, yet he does not point out its situation. The square of the temple itself was two stadia.

rus be regarded as ambiguous, is, that the gate of the city, named *Belidian*, and which we must conclude to be denominated from the temple, appears pretty clearly to have been situated on the *east* side. When Darius Hystaspes besieged Babylon, (Thalia, 155, *et seq.*) the *Belidian* and *Cissian* gates were opened to him by Zopyrus; and the Babylonians fled for refuge to the temple of Belus, as, we may suppose, the nearest place of security. The Cissian or Susian gate must surely have been in the eastern front of the city, as Susa lay to the east; and, by circumstances, the Belidian gate was near it, as the plan was laid that *Persian* troops were to be stationed opposite to these gates; and it is probable that matters would be so contrived, as to facilitate, as much as possible, the junction of the two bodies of Persian troops that were first to enter the city, as a kind of forlorn hope.

It may also be remarked, that the gates at which the feints were made, previous to the opening of the Belidian and Cissian, were those

of Ninus, Chaldea, and Semiramis. The first, towards Ninus or Nineveh, must have been, of course, to the *north*, and the Chaldean to the south; and perhaps that of Semiramis to the *north-east*, between the Belidian and Ninian, as that of Cissia to the south-east, between the Belidian and Chaldean. As it is unquestionable that the Ninian and Cissian gates were in the eastern division of Babylon, since the countries whence they are respectively denominated lie to the east of the Euphrates, it may be collected that the attack was confined to that division alone, (and what army could invest a fortress thirty-four miles in circuit?) If this be admitted, the Belidian gate, and temple of Belus, must have stood on the east side of the Euphrates.*

* Herodotus says, that there were a hundred gates in the circuit of the city, which being a space of thirty-four miles, allows three gates to each mile. It is certain that in modern fortresses, the communications with the country are not so numerous, in proportion to their extent; nor, on the other hand, are they so far asunder as to have only three in a front of eight and a half miles. Probably the rest might have been smaller portals, which were shut up during a siege.

Taking for granted, then, that the tower of Belus stood in the eastern division of the city, let us examine the accounts of it.

It appears that none of the Greeks who describe it, had seen it till after it had been either ruined by Xerxes, or gone so far to decay, that its original design was not apparent. Herodotus himself, therefore, admitting that he viewed it, might not be a perfect judge of the design, or of the original height of the superstructure. This may account for his exaggerated description; perhaps imposed on him, by some of the citizens of Babylon, long after the upper stories had fallen to ruin. The mass of rub-

It may indeed be concluded, that there were fewer gates and communications with the country on the west, than elsewhere; for it may be recollected, that Alexander wished to enter the city by the west, (after his return from India,) in order to avoid the evil foretold by the soothsayers; but was compelled to give up the attempt, by reason of the marshes and morasses on that side.—(See Arrian, lib. vii.)—We are told also by Diodorus, lib. ii. chap. 1., that the number and depth of the morasses round about Babylon, made a smaller number of towers, in the nature of bastions, necessary for the defence of the wall. There were only two hundred and fifty of these, in the whole circuit of thirty-four miles.

bish, mentioned by Strabo, seems to prove this.

All the descriptions are very brief; and Strabo is the only one who pretends to give the positive measure of the elevation of the tower; though all agree in stating it to be very great. The square of the temple, says Herodotus, was *two* stadia (one thousand feet;) and the the tower itself *one* stadium; in which Strabo agrees. The former adds, "In the midst, a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one stadium; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch, magnificently adorned; and near it a table of solid gold, but there is no statue in the place." Clio, 181.—He afterwards describes another chapel, lower down in the structure, with golden statues, tables, and altars:

all of which appear to have been forcibly taken away by Xerxes, who also put the priest to death.

Strabo says, that the *sepulchre* of Belus was *a pyramid* of *one stadium* in height, whose base was a square of like dimensions; and that it was ruined by Xerxes. Arrian agrees in this particular; and both of them say, that Alexander wished to restore it, that is, we may suppose, both the tower and temple, but that he found it too great a labour: for it is said that ten thousand men were not able to remove the rubbish, in the course of two months. Arrian calls it a stupendous and magnificent fabric; and says, that it was situated in the *heart* of the city. Diodorus, lib. ii. chap. 1. says, that it was entirely gone to ruin, in his time; so that nothing certain could be made out, concerning its design, but that it was of an exceeding great height, built of brick, and cemented with bitumen; in which the others generally agree.

Diodorus adds, that on the top was a statue

of Belus, forty feet in height, in an upright posture. It has been the practice to make the statues placed on the tops of buildings, of such a height as to appear of the natural size, when viewed from below: and if this rule was followed in Babylon, the tower must have been of about the height of five hundred feet; for the statue itself, in order to be viewed from a convenient station, clear of the base, and admitting the retreats of the stories to be regular, must have been from six hundred to six hundred and fifty feet: and at that distance, a statue of forty feet high would have appeared nearly of the size of a man.

That it was exceeding lofty, may be conceived by the mode of expression of those who describe it; and if it be admitted that the whole fabric was a stadium in height, as Strabo says, and as appears probable, even this measure, which is about five hundred feet, must be allowed to be a vast height for so bulky a structure raised by the hands of man; for it is about twenty feet higher than the great pyramid of

Memphis; and would exceed the loftiest pile in Great Britain (Salisbury steeple) by one hundred feet. But as the base of the great pyramid is about seven hundred feet square, or nearly half as large again as that of the tower of Belus, the solid contents of the pyramid must have been much greater. The Greeks with Alexander, who saw and described the tower, had also seen the pyramids; but they make no comparison between either their bulk or their altitudes. The tower, from its having a narrower base, would *appear* much more than twenty feet higher than the pyramid. The space occupied by the mass of ruins taken for the tower of Belus, appears, as far as can be judged, to agree with the idea that may be collected from the descriptions of it; considering that, as so great a portion of it was formed of earth, very much of the mass must have been washed down by the rain; which, according to Della Valle and Beauchamp, has worn deep ravines in its sides. Much also, must

have been dispersed, in dry seasons, by the winds.

With respect to the form of the tower—some have surmised, that the winding path on the outside gave occasion to the report of eight towers placed one above the other: but had it derived its character from this circumstance alone, it would have had a very different appearance from that of a regular pyramidal form, as is described by Strabo: although a winding path might have been so contrived, as to preserve the regularity of the figure. Authors differ also, in respect to the manner in which the tower was completed at the top. Herodotus says, that it terminated in a spacious dome, in the nature of a chapel or temple; but others say, an observatory. Diodorus asserts, that the statue of Belus was at the top: Herodotus, lower down the building. Who shall decide? Xerxes is said to have removed the statues; so that, of course, Herodotus could not have seen them.

There can be but little doubt, that the base has been increased by the falling ruins; although it may be supposed, that such parts of them as consisted of burnt bricks have been removed, as most of the other ruins of the same kind have been, and as even the foundations of the city walls, and of other structures in Babylon, continue to be to this day; and that for the purpose of building houses in other places. At all events, the base of the ruin must far exceed that of the original fabric: and by the way, we may conclude, that, if the Greeks found the tower of Belus, when in such a state, as that the dimensions of its base could be ascertained—a stadium in length and breadth—the standard of the stadium must have been nearer 500 than 600 feet.

Indeed it can hardly be supposed, even when the furnace-baked bricks of the ruin were removed, that the remaining matter would form a mass of less than 600 feet on each side; supposing it to have been 500 originally. It may be inferred, that the upper-

most stories consisted more of masonry than earth; but the lower, chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place, by a vast wall of sun-dried bricks; the outer part, or facing of which, was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire. Strabo says, that the sides of the tower were of *burnt* bricks.

The *hanging gardens*, (as they are called,) which occupied an area of about three acres and a half, had trees of a considerable size growing in them: and it is not improbable that they were of a species different from those of the natural growth of the alluvial soil of Babylonia. Curtius says, that some of them were eight cubits in girth; and Strabo, that there was a contrivance to prevent the large roots from destroying the superstructure, by building vast hollow piers, which were filled with earth to receive them.

It may reasonably be concluded, that very great changes have taken place in the course of the river, since the date of the descriptions of Babylon, by the early Greek authors.

No doubt the temple of Belus was farther from the river at that time, than accord with the descriptions of the moderns (taking the mount of ruins, Mujellibah, for the tower); so that the river ran more to the west.

M. D'Anville informs us, in his Euphrates and Tigris, pages 116, 117, that he had seen a MS. relation of the travels of the missionary, Père Emanuel de St. Albert, which the author had communicated to M. Bellet, at Constantinople; and which the latter had sent to D'Anville's great patron, the Duke of Orleans. In it, the author says, "that he had seen in the *western* quarter of Babylon (the other quarter he did not visit,) extensive ranges of walls, partly standing, partly fallen, and of so solid a construction, that it was scarcely possible to detach the bricks from them. The Jews, settled in those parts, call these remains the prison of Nebuchadnezzar." M. Niebuhr visited a ruin on the west side of the Euphrates; but from the brevity of Père Emanuel's description, we cannot *determine*, abso-

lutely, whether the ruins seen by these two gentlemen were one and the same, but we should certainly conclude the contrary: for what Niebuhr saw, was, in his idea, rather a vast heap of bricks than a structure; having above, or rising out of it, a tower of furnace-baked brick of great thickness. Nothing is said concerning the nature of the cement; nor any *reeds* mentioned, either by Père Emanuel, or M. Niebuhr.

As we do not hear of any remains of the *superstructure* of the walls of Babylon, at this time, it may be concluded that the materials of them have been generally removed, to build other places. But this was not done in *very early* times; for although the city declined soon after the foundation of Seleucia, and was deserted in the time of Pliny, yet it appears that the city walls, as well as the tower of Belus, remained, although not entire. We learn both from Niebuhr and Beauchamp, that the foundations of buildings, and apparently of the walls of the city, also, continue to be dug

up, and transported to other places, for the purposes of building. The bricks are to be traced amongst the buildings of Bagdad and other cities; as we find Roman bricks in and about those towns that were formerly Roman stations in this Island.

Those who have made it their business to examine and inquire into such matters, have always found that the materials of ancient cities have been employed in the building of new ones, in cases where new foundations have been established in the same neighbourhood; and when such materials could conveniently be transported by inland navigation, they are found at very great distances from their ancient situation: much farther, indeed, than Bagdad or Seleucia are from Babylon. In effect, the remains of ancient cities throughout the world, are those only, which are either too firmly cemented to be worth the labour of separating; too far distant from a convenient situation, to be worth the expense of transportation; or which, from their nature, are not applicable to

ordinary purposes. For a deserted city is nothing else than a *quarry above ground*, in which the materials are ready shaped to every one's hands. And although, during the times of regular government, these ruins may become private property, or the property of the state, yet in the history of every country, there have been intervals of anarchy and confusion, during which such ruins have been regarded as common to all.

We may safely conclude that Babylon stood in the place assigned to it. Many circumstances concur to prove this: for the distances given by Herodotus from *Is*, or *Hit*; and by Strabo, and the Theodosian tables, from Seleucia; the traditions of the Orientals concerning it; their reports of its latitude, and the name of the district round it, which is BABEL to this day; together with the ruins, which are of no ordinary kind; all conspire to place the site of ancient Babylon at and about the present town of Hillah: and the particular ruin which may be taken for that of the tower of

Belus, (which was said to stand in the centre of one of the divisions,) at three and a half British miles to the N.N.W. of Hillah.*

* See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, section xiv.—A learned and invaluable work, to whose pages all will be delighted to recur.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure for Babylon.—El Mujellibah.—Curious tradition.—Description of this Ruin.—Mode of Brick-making.—Excavations.—Superstition of the Natives.—Prophecies of Jeremiah.—Village of Elugo.—Remarkable Niche.—Discoveries of Mr. Rich.—Large earthen Sarcophagus.—Grandeur of the Ruins.—Extensive embankment.—Lofty elliptical Mound.—Al Kasr, or the Palace.—Numerous Ravines.—Square piers, or buttresses.—Inscriptions.—Supposed site of the Pensile Gardens.—Granite Slab.—The Pensiles Horti.

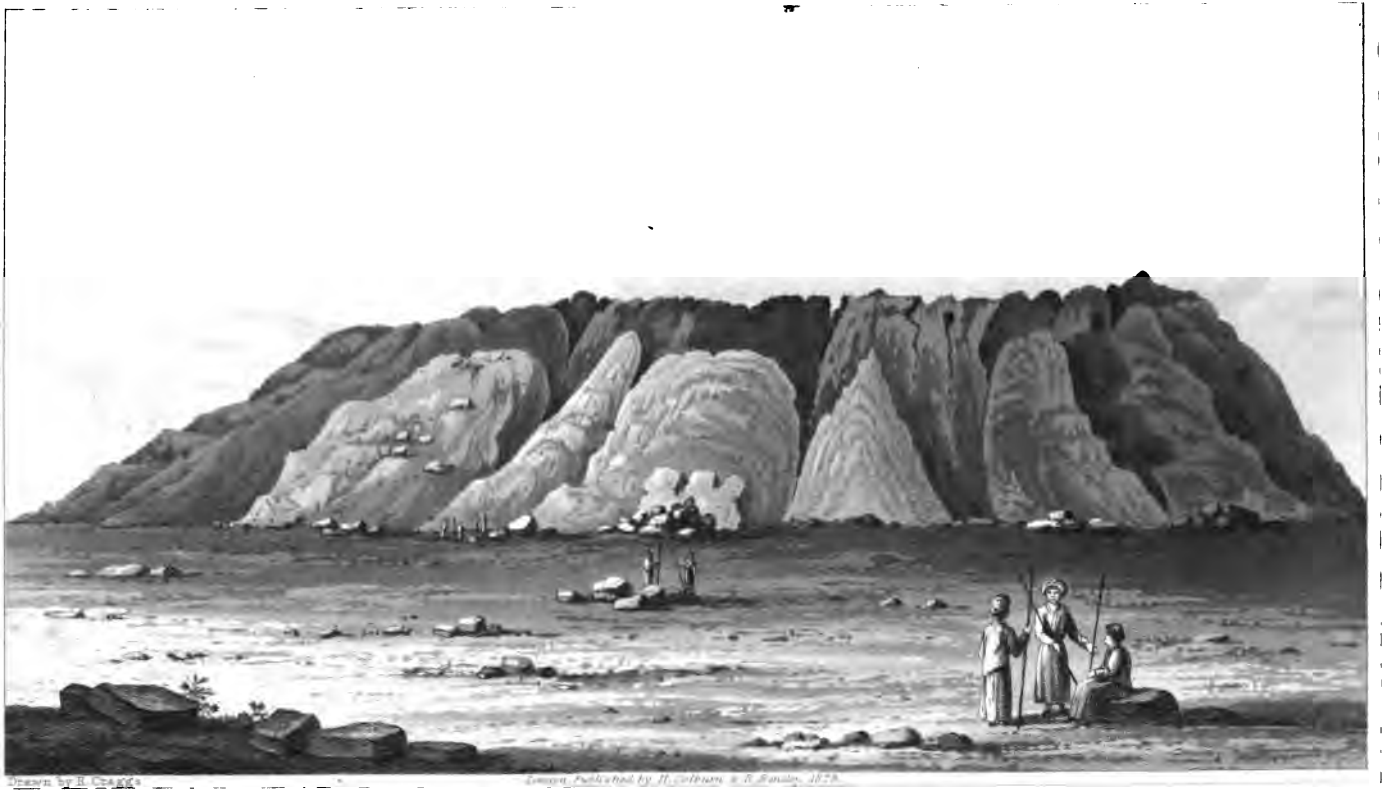
NOVEMBER 30th.—At daylight I departed for the ruins, with a mind absorbed by the objects which I had seen yesterday.* An hour's walk, indulged in intense reflection, brought me to the grandest and most gigantic Northern mass, on the eastern bank of the Eu-

* See Appendix, Q

phrates, and distant about four miles and a half from the eastern suburb of Hillah. It is called by the natives, El Mujellibah, "the overturned:" also Haroot and Maroot, from a tradition handed down, with little deviation, from time immemorial, that near the foot of the ruin there is a well invisible to mortals, in which those rebellious angels were condemned by God to be hung with their heels upwards, until the day of judgment, as a punishment for their wickedness.*

This solid mound, which I consider from its situation and magnitude to be the remains of the Tower of Babel, an opinion likewise adopted by that venerable and highly distinguished geographer Major Rennell, is a vast oblong square, composed of kiln-burnt and sun-dried bricks, rising irregularly to the height of one hundred and thirty-nine feet, at the south-west; whence it slopes towards the north-east to a depth of a hundred and ten

* See D'Herbelôt, and Appendix, page 257.



THE MUJELLEBAH.

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feet. Its sides face the four cardinal points: I measured them carefully; and the following is the full extent of each face. That to the north, along the visible face, is 274 yards; to the south, 256 yards; to the east, 226 yards; and to the west, 240 yards.* The summit is an uneven flat strewed with broken and unbroken bricks, the perfect ones measuring thirteen inches square, by three thick. Many

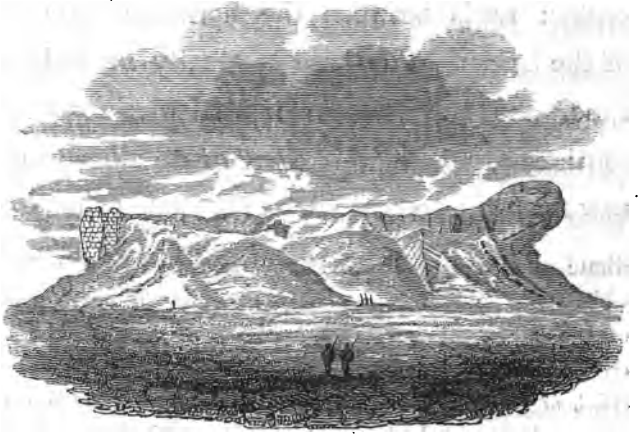
* Pliny, in describing Mesopotamia, says, "Babylon Chaldaiarum gentium caput diu summam claritatem obtinuit in toto orbe, propter quam reliqua pars Mesopotamiæ Assyriæque Babylonia appellata est, sexaginta millia passuum amplexa, muris ducenos pedes altis, quinquagenos latis, in singulos pedes ternis digitis mensurâ ampliore quàm nostra, interfluo Euphrate, mirabili opere utroque. Durat adhuc ibi Jovis Beli templum. Inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiæ. Cetero ad solitudinem rediit, exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore intra nonagesimum lapidem, in confluente Euphratis fossa perducti, atque Tigris; quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur, libera hodie ac sui juris, Macedonumque moris. Ferunt ei plebis urbanæ DC. M. esse: situm vero mœnium, aquilæ pandentis alas; agrum totius Orientis fertilissimum. Invicem ad hanc exhauriendam, Ctesiphontem juxta tertium ab ea lapidem in Chalonitide condidere Parthi, quod nunc caput est regnorum. Et postquam nihil proficiebatur, nuper Vologesus rex aliud oppidum Vologeso —certam in vicino condidit."

exhibited the arrow-headed character, which appeared remarkably fresh. Pottery, bitumen, vitrified and petrified brick, shells and glass, were all equally abundant. The principal materials composing this ruin are doubtless mud bricks baked in the sun, and mixed up with straw. Many of the ancient ruined cities of Persia are likewise described as being built of unburnt bricks beaten up with straw or rush, perhaps to make the ingredient adhere, and then baked in the sun.* This mode of making bricks is of the greatest antiquity; for even in the days of the Egyptian bondage, I apprehend it to be alluded to, when Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the people and their officers, saying, "Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves."—*Exodus*, chap. v. ver. 7.

It is not difficult to trace brickwork along each front, particularly at the south-west angle,

* Vide Morier's Second Journey through Persia, cap. xiii. page 207.

which is faced by a wall, composed partly of kiln-burnt brick, that in shape exactly resembles a watch tower or small turret.* On its summit there are still considerable traces of erect building: at the western end is a circular



South face of the Mujellibah.

* Pietro Della Valle, a Roman traveller, visited Babylon in 1616. He says, when speaking of this ruin, "Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the Tower of Belus."—"It is built with large and thick bricks, as I carefully observed, having caused excavations to be made in several places for that purpose; but they do not appear to have been burned, but dried in the sun, which is extremely hot in those parts. These sun-baked bricks, in

mass of solid brickwork, sloping towards the top and rising from a confused heap of rubbish. The chief material forming this fabric appeared similar to that composing the ruin called Akerkouff—a mixture of chopped straw, with slime used as cement;* and regular layers of unbroken reeds between the horizontal courses of the bricks. The base is greatly injured by time, and the elements; particularly to the south-east, where it is cloven into a deep furrow from top to bottom.

whose substance were mixed bruised reeds and straw, and which were laid in clay mortar, compose the great mass of the building; but *other bricks were also perceived at certain intervals, especially where the strongest buttresses stood, of the same size, but burned in a kiln, and set in good lime and bitumen.*"—Vide Pietro Della Valle's Travels, vol. ii. let. 17.

* "And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." *Genesis*, chap. i. v. 4.—The cement, here mentioned by the name of slime, was probably what the ancients called *asphaltus*, or bitumen; Assyria abounds with it. Herodotus, and many ancient authors affirm, that the walls of Babylon were cemented with it. Arrian says, "The temple of Belus, in the *midst* of the city of Babylon, was made of brick, cemented with asphaltus."

The sides of the ruin exhibit hollows worn partly by the weather, but more generally formed by the Arabs, who are incessantly digging for bricks, and hunting for antiquities. Several of these excavations I entered, and have no reason to suppose that they are inhabited by such ferocious animals as the generality of travellers assert. There certainly was an offensive smell, and the caves were strewed with bones of sheep and goats, devoured most probably by the jackals that resort thither in great numbers; and thousands of bats and owls have filled many of these cavities *.

The natives are very reluctant to follow the visitor into these dens, and dislike remaining

* "Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues. How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations! The wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands, shall dwell there, *and the owls shall dwell therein*; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God

near the ruins after sunset, rather from the fear of demons and evil spirits, than from any attack of lions or other wild beasts. Indeed, by their account, there are not half a dozen lions within thirty miles round Babel; though, about sixty miles below Hillah, on the banks of the river, in a considerable patch of brush-wood, those animals are very numerous. It appears, that the only risk attendant on entering the recesses in all the mounds, is the liability of being stung by venomous reptiles, which are very numerous throughout the ruins. This circumstance is an apt illustration of the prophecies of Jeremiah. "And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment, and an hissing, without an inhabitant."—*Jeremiah*, chap. li. ver. 37.

Rauwolff, a German traveller, passed these ruins in 1574. He speaks of a village which

overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so shall no man abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein."—*Jeremiah*, chap. l. ver. 13. 23. 39, 40.

he named Elugo, occupying a part of Babylon. This village, I imagine, may have been the town of Nil, marked down in my plan of the ruins. I shall here quote a part of his description; it is as follows:—"The village of Elugo now lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldæa, was situated. The harbour is a quarter of a league's distance from it, where people go ashore in order to proceed by land to the celebrated city of Bagdad, which is a day and a half's journey from thence eastward on the Tigris.

"Just below the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortifications are still visible, though demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the Tower of Babylon. It is still to be seen, and is half a league in diameter; but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous creatures, which lodge in holes made by them in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the

winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes."

In the north-west face of this huge mound is a niche six feet high, by three deep; it is particularly noticed by Mr. Rich, in his memoir on Babylon; this recess is very clearly discernible to the distance of full two miles on approaching the ruin from the north; and it being near the summit renders it a conspicuous spot. The natives call this the *serdaub*, signifying a cellar, or vaulted chamber: this aperture is well worthy the most minute examination, from its being a place of sepulture.

Rich here discovered a wooden coffin, containing a skeleton in high preservation. Under the head of this coffin was a round pebble, attached to the coffin; on the outside was a brass bird, and inside an ornament of the same material, which had been suspended to some part of the skeleton. This places the antiquity of these remains beyond all dispute; and Rich adds, that the skeleton of a child was also found.

These circumstances caused me to exert my utmost attention; and as far as my means went, I set men to work at a distance of twenty yards eastward of the niche.

After four hours' digging perpendicularly from the summit, they discovered six beams of date-tree wood running apparently into the centre of the mound. In half an hour after, I pulled out a large earthen sarcophagus nearly perfect, lined with bitumen, and filled with human bones; but on attempting to remove it, the vessel broke in pieces. This sarcophagus was larger and broader than any I had ever seen, being upwards of five feet in length, by three and a half in diameter. On the slightest possible touch the bones became a white powder, and the pieces of date-wood could scarcely withstand the same gentle handling without being converted into dust. From digging in an easterly direction, every five or six yards, I verified Mr. Rich's conjecture, that the passage filled with earthen urns extends all along the northern front of the pile; though I

could find no gallery filled with skeletons enclosed in wooden coffins; nor am I inclined to believe, that any exist in this or any other ruin at Babylon.*

The Mujellibah appeared to me to have an air of ancient grandeur, which, contrasted with the present solitude of the scene, cannot fail to temper the curiosity of the traveller with awe and reverence. On pacing over the loose stones and fragments of brickwork which lay scattered through the immense fabric, and surveying the sublimity of the ruins, I naturally recurred to the time when these walls stood proudly in their original splendour,—when the halls were the scenes of festive magnificence; and when they resounded to the voices of those whom death hath long since swept from the earth.

This very pile was once the seat of luxury and vice; now abandoned to decay, and exhibiting a melancholy instance of the retribu-

* See Rich's second Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, page 29.

tion of Heaven.* It stands alone: the solitary habitation of the goat-herd marks not the forsaken site; a projecting embankment surrounds it on the north-eastern and north-western sides; two small canals enclose the western line, whence the Euphrates is distant a little more than half a mile.

* Babylon never recovered its ancient splendour after it was taken by Cyrus, but, upon the removal of the seat of empire from thence by the Persians, it by degrees decayed, till it was at last reduced to an utter solitude. Berosus, in Josephus, says, that Cyrus ordered the outer walls to be pulled down; the Persian kings ever regarded Babylon with a jealous eye.

Darius Hystaspes, upon a revolt, greatly depopulated the place, lowered the walls, and demolished the gates; Xerxes destroyed the temples: the building of Seleucia on the Tigris exhausted Babylon by its neighbourhood, as well as by the immediate loss of inhabitants taken away by Seleucus to people his new city; a king of the Parthians soon after carried away into slavery a great number, and destroyed the most beautiful parts of the city.

In more modern times, St. Jerome (who lived in the fourth century) mentions Babylon as nothing more than a chase for wild beasts to feed and breed there, for the King of Persia's hunting. The place thereabouts is represented as being overrun with serpents, scorpions, and all sorts of venomous and unclean creatures.—*Bishop Newton on the Prophecies.*

The embankment, which is of great height and breadth, is strewed with vestiges of old building, and embraces a most extensive area; commencing from the north-west of the Mujellibah, passing before its northern and eastern faces; and running due south for a quarter of a mile, where it is crossed by the Nil canal.* It then takes a direction S. 45° E. for two miles, when there is a gap of 305 feet, which forms an angle towards the east: on its southern side the ruined rampart begins again, and runs south-west for a mile and a half, joining a group of low mounds to the south of Amran hill, till it is concealed from view by a date grove extending to the river's bank. The whole forms two sides of a triangle, with its apex opened to the space already mentioned.

Not far from the centre of this great area, formed by the rampart or embankment now traced, stands a lofty elliptical mound, which I suppose to be the remains of the *lesser palace.*

* See Appendix, R.

It extends 325 yards in length, 125 in breadth, and 60 feet in height, and is composed of fragments of bright and red burnt brick; and the Babylonian writing, instead of being on the smooth surface of the brick, appears *along its edge* from three to eight lines; consequently the characters are smaller than the more abundant writing, and are altogether executed with great taste and delicacy. These bricks are very rare, and of great value; which will appear evident when I state that it is almost impossible to procure a perfect specimen from the exhausted state of the ruin.

From this red coloured mass, the Mujellibah bears N. 20° W. Hillah, S. 10° W. and the Birs Nemroud, S. 30° W. This mound rises to the west of an unequal and inferior range of hillocks, and joins another ridge branching off to the southward for the distance of a mile, and something less than half that breadth.*

* As all ancient authors agree in placing the Tower or Temple of Belus "*in the midst of the city*," I leave the reader to judge, whether even this conical mound has not *greater* claims to an identity with the Tower of Babel, than the one

This cluster of hills is of the same height as another range extending along the eastern front of the Kasr, and running due north for one mile; at the same time occupying nearly the whole of the ground from the north face of the Kasr to the river's bank.

Adjoining these heaps, a little to the southward, stands an enormous pile, which the natives have distinguished by the name of Al Kasr, or "The Palace," and which, next to the Mujellibah, is the most attractive and conspicuous object on this side of the river, rearing its rugged head seventy feet above the level of the plain; I feel confident that here lie the *debris* of the great Western palace, for the ground on the eastern face of this ruin is low, soft, and indented, as if the river had wandered from its original course. Its form is very irregular; its length is 820 yards, and its breadth 610. It is deeply furrowed throughout by ravines of great length, depth, and width; and crossing each other in

designated *Birs Nemroud*, which I shall presently describe, and which is almost universally considered to be the ruins of that once magnificent structure.

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THE KASR, OR PALACE.

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every direction. Some are full sixty feet deep, which may be principally attributed to the Arabs, who were constantly at work to obtain the valuable bricks, which, from the vicinity of the river, are with little trouble and expense conveyed to Hillah, or any towns north or south.

In some of these artificial ravines, fragments of detached wall are still standing, composed of burnt bricks cemented together with bitumen, with their faces, or inscribed parts, placed downwards.

The freshness of the inscriptions, on extracting many of these bricks, was amazing. In the fragments of building on the summit of the mound, neither bitumen nor reeds can be traced, there being but a simple layer of mortar to bind the materials together.

The very heart of this pile appears to be entirely of the finest furnace-baked brick; a fact which strikingly distinguishes it from the Mujellibah, where the sun-dried material is predominant. On the top of this ruin, which is

all that is left us of the greater palace, are the remains of square piers or buttresses, defying the generally destructive power of time. These columns measured from sixteen to eighteen feet

Brick Columns on the Kasr; and at the Athlah.

in height, and nine in thickness. I found it utterly impossible to detach any of the bricks, so firmly did they adhere together. Hence, I imagine that this very circumstance is the cause of their extraordinarily fresh appearance and excellent preservation. Their colour is a pale

yellow, and several of these masses appear to lean from their centre, perhaps from some convulsion of nature.

The cuneiform, or Babylonian inscriptions, are very plainly discernible, after minute examination, on those bricks that project beyond the line of their original position. The observer must kneel down and look upwards; for it is to be remembered, that the inscribed part of every single brick is placed downwards; evidently showing that the writing thereon was never intended to be seen or read; which is an extraordinary circumstance, and not easily accounted for.

It is astonishing that the thinnest layer of cement imaginable should hold the courses of brickwork so firmly and securely together. The natives appear to have entirely discontinued their work of havoc here, from the total impossibility of extracting a perfect brick. There are very conspicuous fragments of detached wall along the western, and a part of the northern face of the Kasr, which (as this part

is the reputed site of the famous Pensile Gardens ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar,) perhaps supported the terraces attached thereto.

Indeed it is easier to trace several long passages among the deep and innumerable ravines, than might be supposed, after the lapse of so many ages; but these fragments of building are daily becoming more hidden from view, and the avenues closed up with broken bricks, rubbish, glazed pottery, and huge masses of stone. I will however particularize a single specimen, in order to give some idea of their gigantic dimensions.

In one of the subterranean passages of a deeply furrowed ravine, I discovered a granite slab fifteen feet long, and five and a half wide; the surface of which exhibited bitumen with an impression of woven matting, or straw, apparently laid on in a perfect unbroken state. This circumstance may, in some degree, identify the site of the *Pensiles Horti*, which, we learn from ancient authors, were raised on pillars by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, to gra-

tify his wife Amyctis, the daughter of Astyages, king of Media.

Quintus Curtius makes them equal in height to the walls of the city, viz. fifty feet. They are said to have contained a square of four hundred feet on each side, and were carried up into the air in several terraces, laid above one another, and the ascent from terrace to terrace was by stairs ten feet wide. The pilasters (no trace of the arch being found throughout the ruins) sustaining the whole pile were raised above one another, and the fabric was strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness.

The floors of each of the terraces were laid in the following manner: on the top of the pillars were first placed *large flat stones, sixteen feet long and four broad; and over them was a layer of reed, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen,* over which were two rows of bricks closely cemented together by plaster, and over all were thick sheets of lead; and, lastly, upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden. The

mould, or earth, was of such a depth, as to admit the largest trees to take root and grow; and it was covered with various kinds of trees, plants, and flowers. In the upper terrace there was an aqueduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river for watering the garden.

CHAPTER IX.

Curious tree called Athleh.—Sonnini's account of it.—Statue of a Lion.—Remains of buildings.—Square pilaster.—Babylonian writing on the bricks.—Fragment of calcareous sand-stone.—Art of enamelling.—Bricked platform.—Conjecture respecting it.—Discovery of cylinders, gems, coins, &c.—The Khezail tribe.—Banks of the river.—Brazen clamps.—Urns.—Extensive mound.—Village of Jumjuma.—Predictions of Scripture.—The Birs Nemroud.—Vitrified masses of brickwork.

On the northern front of the Kasrah, or great western Palace, upon an artificial pyramidal height, stands a solitary tree, which the natives of these parts call Athleh.* It appears to be of

* A variety of the Tamarix Orientalis.—See Appendix, S. Mr. Rich, oddly enough, calls this tree a *lignum vitæ*.

Sonnini, in his travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, gives a very accurate drawing of this tree, and thus describes it:—

"But a tree which appears to be indigenous in that country is the *atlé*, a species of large tamarisk, (*Tamarix Orientalis*, Forskal, Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica, p. 206.—Lin. 13th. edit.) as yet little known. Linnæus has not mentioned

the greatest antiquity, and has been a superb tree; perhaps a scion of the monarch of the hanging gardens. Its present height is only twenty-

it; and if it is described in the thirteenth edition of his *Systema Naturæ*, in which the author had no hand, it is because Gmelin, the editor, has availed himself of the indication given of it by Forskal.

This *atlé*, which is different from the common tamarisk (*Tamarix Gallica*, L.) by its size, as well as its specific characters, upon which I shall quote a traveller perfectly versed in the science of botany, (*Differt à Tamar. Gallica, cujus rami squamati, squamis alternis, sessilibus lanceolatis; ramuli breves, imbricati; foliis lanceolatis confectis.* Forskal,) attains the height and thickness of the oak. Its leaves are alternate, long, very narrow, and of a pale green. I will not dwell upon its description, having had a drawing made of the trunk and a branch of one of these trees. I regret, that at the time this drawing was made, there were neither flowers nor fruit upon the specimen which the artist had to pourtray.

These trees are, in general, covered with galnuts, adhering to the branches. I have observed that, before they were dried, these galls were filled with a liquor of a very beautiful deep scarlet, from which the arts may perhaps be able to derive considerable benefit; for the galls are exceedingly numerous, and the trees that bear them grow all over both Upper and Lower Egypt. I dwell the more upon this remark, because I have read in a manuscript catalogue of plants, which was in the possession of a companion of M. Tott, that *the atlé is a species of the tamarisk which grows in Upper Egypt, towards Sahil.* Now, there is scarcely a single

three feet; its trunk has been of great circumference: though now rugged and rifled, it still stands proudly up; and, although nearly worn away, has still sufficient strength to bear the burthen of its evergreen branches, which stretch out their arms in the stern grandeur of decaying greatness. The fluttering and rustling sound produced by the wind sweeping through its delicate branches, has an indescribably melancholy effect; and seems as if it were entreating the traveller to remain, and unite in mourning over fallen grandeur.

I scarcely dared ask, why, when standing beneath this precious relic of the past, and prophet of the future, I had nearly lost the power of forcing myself from the spot?

"I turned from all it brought, to those it could not bring."

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village in Lower Egypt, which, among the trees that surround it, has not several *atlés*. The wood of this tree serves for various purposes; amongst others, for charcoal. It is the only wood that is common in Egypt, either for fuel or for manufacturing; indeed, it is a common proverb among the inhabitants, that "were the *atlé* to fail, the world would go ill."—*Vide Sonnini's Travels in Egypt*, pp. 247, 248. 4to.

Proceeding two hundred and four feet east of the old tree, and on an uneven spot of ground, surrounded by vestiges of buildings, is to be seen, lying on its right side, a lion; beneath him is a prostrate man, extended on a pedestal, which measures nine feet in length, by three in width. The whole is from a block of stone of the ingredient and texture of granite, the scale colossal, and the sculpture in a very barbarous style; much inferior to the Persepolitan specimens of this art.* The head of the lion has been knocked off by the violence of some modern Vandal. When Mr. Rich visited Babylon, this statue was in a perfect state. In his interesting investigations, he remarks of the lion, that "in the mouth was a circular aperture, into which a man might introduce his fist."

From its vicinity to the river, (within five

* The Hon. Major Keppel has inaccurately stated this colossal piece of sculpture to be in *black marble.—See his Travels in Assyria.*

hundred yards,) little toil and expense would enable the antiquary to remove it from the mutilation of barbarians; and boats are procurable at Hillah, which would convey it to Bussorah. I trust I shall be believed when I state, that the want of funds was the only reason that prevented my transporting this valuable relic of antiquity to India; where no great expense would attend its embarkation for England.

Beauchamp, in speaking of this ruin, says, "On this side of the river are those immense ruins which have served, and still serve, for the building of Hillah, an Arabian city, containing ten or twelve thousands souls. Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to the Abbé Barthelemy. This heap, and the Mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs, *Makloubah*, that is to say, *turned topsy-turvy*. I was informed by the master-mason employed to

dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw among the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks. Sometimes idols of clay are found, representing human figures." *Vide Beauchamp's authority, quoted by Major Rennell in his invaluable Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.*

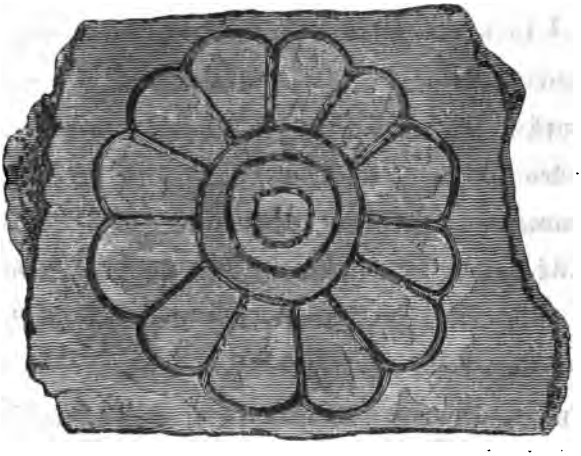
Eighty yards to the west of the fallen statue, a vast quantity of perfect building is observable in detached fragments of architectural labour; and some pieces of square pillars or columns cover the surface of this elevated terrace. The whole is of the finest furnace brick. On a high spot, about fifty-five feet above the level of the plain, I distinctly traced a large square pilaster rising out of a conical mound. The bricks which composed it measured thirteen inches

square, by three thick, and were joined together with an almost imperceptible layer of cement.

I employed thirty men to clear away the rubbish, and we dug down along its western face to a depth of twenty feet, when we arrived at the bricks, where bitumen alone was found to be the binding material. Here I had no trouble of extracting them with an iron instrument something like a pick-axe. The arrow-headed or cuneiform writing was stamped on all, but differed as to the number of lines. They varied from three to ten lines; the first number was the commonest, or most abundant, and the latter the most rare.

The writing was more deeply engraven on these bricks than on any others I had met with. I found one with the Babylonian writing both on its *face* and *edge*, but unfortunately it was broken. I regard it as a unique specimen; never having seen or heard of another like it. I discovered also an ornamental flat fragment

of calcareous sand-stone, glazed with brown enamel on the superior surface, and bearing the raised figure in good relief represented in the accompanying woodcut.



Fragment found at Babylon.

This proves that the Babylonians had perfectly acquired the art of *enamelling*. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that among the great variety of painting represented upon the walls of the palace, Semiramis was seen on horseback, piercing with her dart a panther; and her husband Ninus, in the act of fixing to the earth

with his spear a savage lion.* M. Beauchamp found several varnished bricks, on one of which was the figure of a lion, and on another the sun and moon. He likewise saw imperfectly the colossal lion already noticed.

Upon clearing away a space of twelve feet square at the base of the pilaster, I laid open a bricked platform beautifully fastened together with bitumen, each brick measuring *nineteen inches and three quarters square*, by three and a half thick, with the written characters along the *edge*, instead of being in an upright column on the face. I will venture to assert, that these bricks are the largest hitherto found; as all former visitors and writers on this venerable place agree in saying, that the largest bricks measure only fourteen inches square. I

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 97. The prophet Ezekiel, in denouncing the vengeance of Heaven upon Judah, says, "She saw men *pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion*, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea."—Ezekiel xxiii. ver. 14, 15.

have removed two of these immense bricks to Bussorah, one of which has since been presented to Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay.

The platform, I have no doubt, extended for a considerable space; and it is not improbable that it was the flooring of some chamber, or serdaub; perhaps a terrace attached to the Pensile Gardens; for, deducting the twenty feet of perpendicular digging, it is still greatly raised above the general level. In making a very careful and fatiguing search throughout the accumulated earth, which we removed from this fine platform, my labours were amply compensated by the discovery of four cylinders, three engraved gems, one of which is represented in the frontispiece to this volume; and several silver and copper coins; which at first appeared like so many black stones, so thickly were they incrusted with verdigris. On cleansing one of the copper coins, I found it to be of Alexander the Great. The others were of the Syrian, Parthian, Roman,

and Kufic dynasties, in the best state of preservation.

The cylinders are of hæmatite, cornelian, opal, jasper, agate, chalcedony, sardonyx, crystal, and bone, and are generally found by the Khezail Arabs among a considerable group of mounds, called Boursa,* about ten miles to the south of Hillah, close to a village termed by them Jerboueyah.

My friend John Robert Steuart, Esq. possesses a very extensive and valuable collection of these antiquities, and has devoted much time to the study of these hieroglyphics. He imagines that the figures carved upon the longitudinally-perforated cylinders, denote imitations of groups which were represented upon the walls of the Temple of Belus, or of the various deities worshipped by the Babylonians; and likewise sacrifices to them. Mr. Landseer has published an interesting work, entitled "Sabæan Researches," in which he discusses

* See Note on Babylon, page 255.

the objects of these representations at great length, referring them to planetary and astronomical combinations, or calculations of nativities, &c.

The powerful and warlike Khezail tribe inhabit the banks as far as the large village of Semavah, on the Euphrates, where the women are proverbial throughout the country for beauty of feature, and perfect symmetry of form. The highly interesting spot where I laid open the platform, is one thousand two hundred and fifty feet from the bank of the river; a little to the north, and upon the bank, is an enclosure of date-trees, and among them some attempts at cultivation, of a parched and sickly appearance.

The stream continues in view meandering for a considerable distance, surrounded by objects well calculated to heighten the solemn impression of the scene of the principal ruins. Here, along the banks, are several osiers, perhaps the very willows upon which the daugh-

ters of Israel hung their harps and wept: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion: we hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." *Psalm* cxxxvii. ver. 1, 2. This is the woful lamentation of one of the Jewish captives of Babylon, either at the time of their captivity, or at their return from it. It contains a mournful reflection on their banishment from their native country, combined with the insolent behaviour of their enemies; and foretels the future destruction which awaited the city of Babylon and its devoted inhabitants. As I strolled along the banks of the river, the exquisitely beautiful and sweetly-pathetic stanzas of Lord Byron, in his Hebrew Melodies, on this very subject, forced themselves on my attention—

> "We sat down and wept by the waters
> Of Babel."

Before I quitted these ruins, I continued along the bank for half a mile, when I came to

the spot where Mr. Rich discovered the urns with human bones. Here it was, after a diligent search of two hours among the fragments of brick and masonry on the water's edge, that I found two large brazen clamps exhibiting these forms.

What they appertained to, I do not pretend to determine; though it is not improbable they belonged to the bridge * which was thrown over the Euphrates; and this spot, from its vicinity to the reputed site of the Palace, and the famous Hanging-gardens, may perhaps accord with the generally-received accounts of its position. The traveller Rauwolff, who approached these ruins by water, notices the remains of an ancient brick bridge here

* "She (Nitocris) afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above-mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and lead, erected a bridge," &c.—*Herodotus, Clio.* clxxxvi.

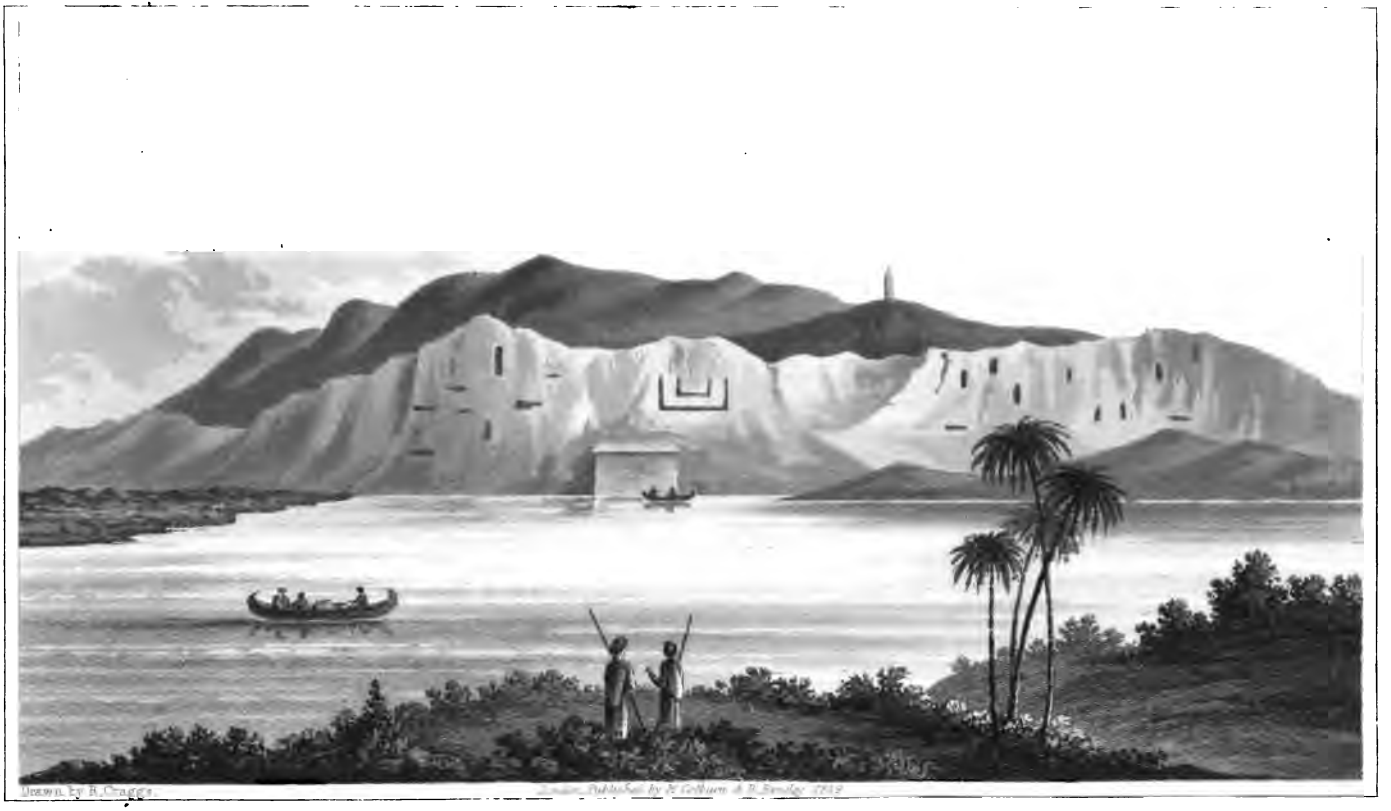
alluded to. He says:—"This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that I should have much doubted whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar,) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing hereabouts in great desolation. First, by the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates, (which also is called Sud by the prophet Baruch in his first chapter,) whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, and to be seen at this very day, a little above where we landed. These arches are built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable, and that so much the more, because all along the river as we came from Bir, where the river is a great deal smaller, we saw never a bridge; wherefore I say it is admirable which way they could build a bridge here, where the river is at least half a league broad, and very

deep besides."—pp. 137, 138. A correct idea of the bank filled with urns, and of Amran hill behind it, may be formed on reference to the accompanying engraving.

Vast quantities of various-coloured tile and brick were here lying upon the bed of the river, which appears to be gradually encroaching, the bank being perpendicular, and greatly injured by the action of the water. I extracted large portions of highly-polished vases from this bank, to all of which adhered human bones, which on attempting to separate from the urn, became immediately pulverised.

From the south-western face of the palace, or Kasr, a long mound ninety yards in breadth by half that height runs north and south; to the north-west angle of Amran hill, so called by Mr. Rich. The superficies of the intervening ground is covered with long reeds,* and the

* The reeds we now see growing in many parts of the ruins, are particularly noticed in Scripture; indeed, they are said to have been so high, together with the mud on which they stood, as to have formed, as it were, another wall round the city.



VIEW OF THE EMBANKMENT WITH URNS, AMRAN HILL, AND TOMB.

UNIV. OF MICH.

soil is peculiarly damp, as if it had been overflowed, here and there exhibiting a very swampy and nitrous appearance. In fact, here are very evident traces of the Euphrates having altered its course; and if we admit this, the breadth of the river (from the appearance of its ancient bed) was 160 yards. Major Rennell is unquestionably correct in pronouncing this "the deserted bed of the river Euphrates." It is indeed surprising that the idea did not immediately occur to Mr. Rich. The great mass of this latter heap occupies more ground than the Kasr, and has evidently formed an immense range of building; it would be rather more elevated, were the standing pilasters on the palace removed. It forms a triangle: its northern front extends 860 yards; its southern, 1420.

The whole is deeply furrowed in the same manner as the generality of the mounds. The ground is extremely soft and tiresome to walk over, and appears completely exhausted of all its building materials; nothing now is left save one towering hill, the earth of which is mixed with

fragments of broken brick, red varnished pottery, tile, bitumen, mortar, glass, shells, and pieces of mother-of-pearl.

To the south-west of the mound, a tomb in good repair contains the bones of Amran, who, the natives say, was a son of Ali. The keeper of this tomb may be likened to Job's forsaken man, dwelling in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, which are ready to become heaps (chap. xv. ver. 28.): and a hundred yards to the E. S. E. of this building there is a solid block of white marble, measuring six feet long, three wide, and three and a half inches thick; but no writing, device, or bitumen, is to be traced upon it.

To the westward of this, the ground is flat, without any marks of building, and is bounded by the river's embankment (already noticed) on its opposite side, where Rich found a number of urns filled with human bones which had undergone the action of fire.*

* Note on Urns from Desatîr, page 248.

A little below this there is a ridge of mounds extending from a date-grove on the verge of the stream, to the south-west of a village called Jumjuma, which appellative means a skull, and likewise according to Castell and Golius, "Puteus in loco salsuginoso fossus." The mounds then stretch towards the remains of a tomb of the same name, form a right angle behind it, taking an easterly course, where they are traversed by the Bagdad road.

I had been walking a full hour by the light of the rising moon, and could not persuade my guides to remain longer, from the apprehension of evil spirits. It is impossible to eradicate this idea from the minds of these people, who are very deeply imbued with superstition.

I have now concluded my description of the ruins on the east side of the Euphrates, within the probable bounds of Babylon. It will be seen how exactly the divine predictions have been fulfilled. In the language of Scripture, she is truly "wasted with misery, her habita-

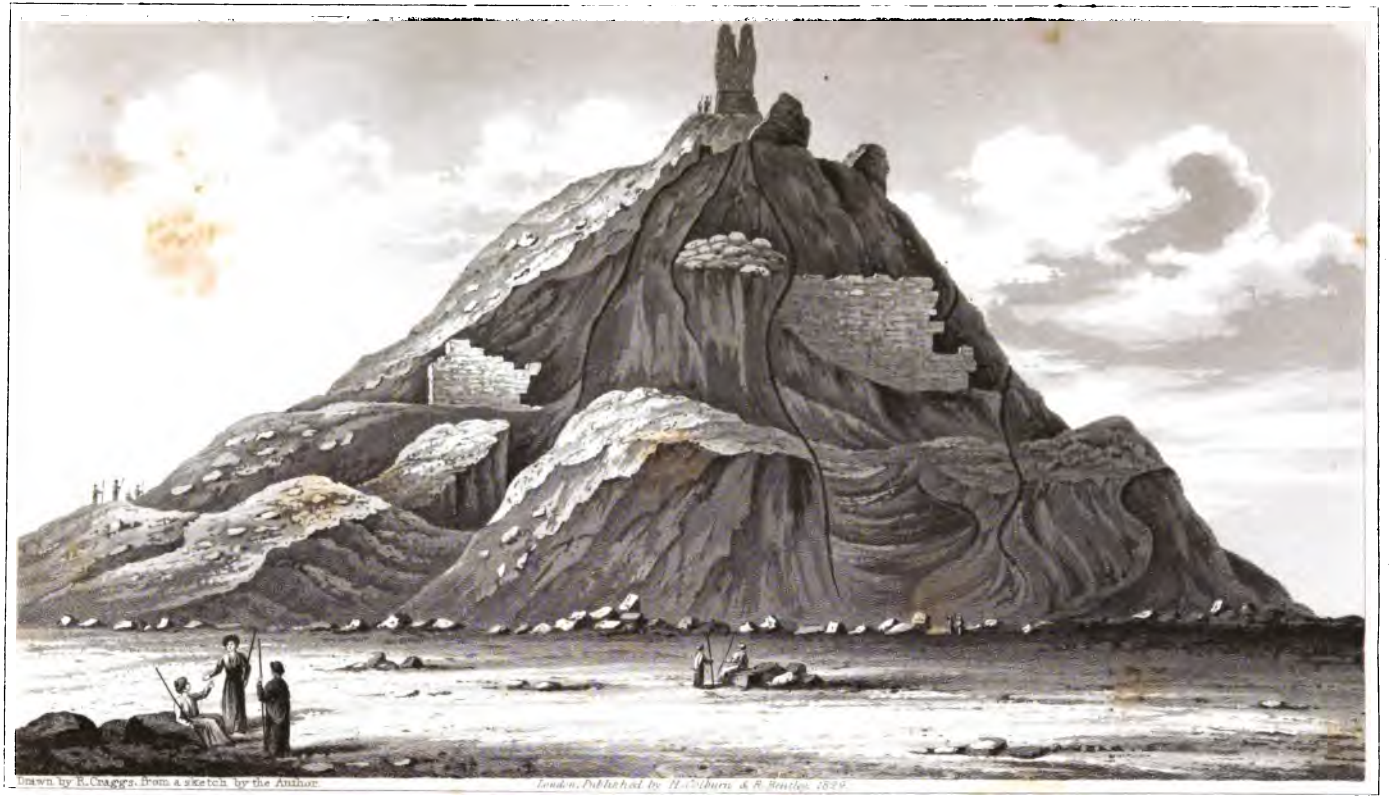
tions are not to be found; and for herself, the worm is spread over her."

DECEMBER 3d.—Attended by three horsemen from the commander of the Pasha of Bagdad's army encamped near Hillah, in addition to my own people, I set out for the western shore of the river, and for the purpose of examining the most remarkable of all the Babylonian remains, which the Turks, Arabs, and Jews name Birs* Nemroud, meaning the Tower or *Akron* of Nimrod.

The indefatigable Niebuhr conceived it to be the Tower of Babel, or Temple of Belus; a supposition which has been supported by Rich, and nearly all succeeding travellers: some of whom, in describing this ruin, assert that it is called by the Jews *Nebuchadnezzar's Prison.*† I can only say, that at the present moment it is

* See Appendix, T. p. 258.

† In an Itinerary written nearly 700 years ago by Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who lived in the twelfth century, it is said, that "Ancient Babylon is now laid waste, but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's Palace; and men fear to enter there, on account of the serpents and



BIRS NEMROOD FROM THE N. N.W.

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known by one name alone—Birs Nemroud, or Nimrod.*

We proceeded over a plain covered with nitre, at intervals crossing some dry canal beds, and small pools of water, and starting large flocks of bitterns. This put me in mind of the following passage in Isaiah.—"I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of

scorpions which are in the midst of it." Many writers imagine the Birs is the ruin spoken of by the Jew; but as it is so far from the river, and some danger to be apprehended by visiting it, I think it more probable the Mujellibah is here alluded to.

Mr. Rich, and, I may add, all those travellers who have more recently visited and described the Birs Nemroud, appear to identify it with the Tower, because it more nearly resembles the state of decay into which we might suppose that edifice to have fallen, after the lapse of ages, than any other remain within the circumference of Babylon. This mode of judging from *appearances* cannot be admitted, nor that slender hypothesis of Sir Robert Ker Porter, when describing the Mujellibah. It runs thus:—"From the *general appearance* of this piece of ruin, I scarcely think that its solid elevation has ever been much higher than it stands at present." The reader will bear in mind, that the base of this mound extends 822 feet in length, while its height is only 139. He will, I think, see the futility of Sir Robert's remark.

* Appendix, V. p. 259.

water, and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction."*

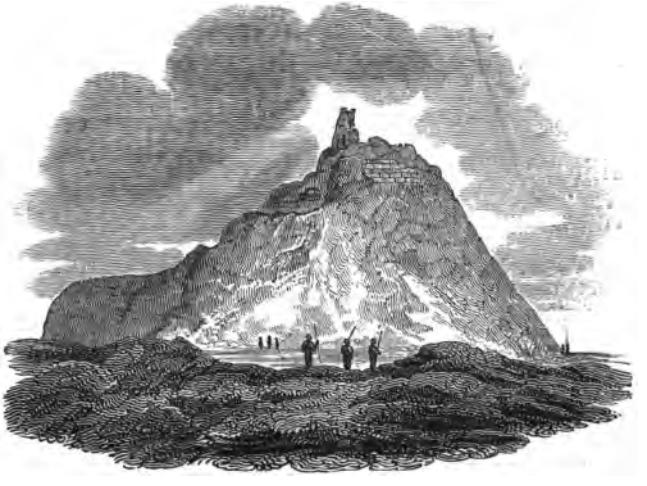
A walk of two hours and a quarter in a S.W. direction brought me to the base of its eastern front. It lies five miles distant from the western suburb of Hillah. On my first beholding this "mountainous" mass† it bore a little to the westward of south, appearing like an oblong

* Isaiah, chap. xiv. ver. 23.—"Cyrus took the city of Babylon in the year 539 before Christ, by diverting the waters of the Euphrates, which ran through the midst of it, and entering the place at night by the channel. It was two furlongs wide; but he had made it fordable by means of the lake and trenches which he had prepared. The river being thus turned, by the breaking down of dams and banks, and no care taken afterwards to repair the breach, all the country was overflowed and drowned, and ultimately a whole province lost. Alexander, who intended to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, set about remedying the mischief; but difficulties arising, he soon after dying, and the work being never more thought of, that country has remained bog and marsh ever since."—*Dean Prideaux.*

† "Though Babylon was seated in a low watery plain, yet it is in Jeremiah (chap. li. ver. 25.) called a "mountain," on account of its power and greatness, as well as of the vast height of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples; and Berosus, ‡ speaking of some of its buildings, says, that they appeared most like mountains."—*Newton on the Prophecies.*

‡ *την οψιν απεδερ ὁμοιοτατην τοις ορεσι*—quibus speciem dedit montibus persimilem.—*Joseph. Antiq. lib.* x.

hill, surmounted by a tower. The total circumference of its base is exactly seven hundred and twenty-two yards. Its eastern face extends one hundred and sixty-eight yards in width, and only two stages of a hill are distinctly observable. The first measures in height seventy feet, whence the second sweeps irregularly upwards, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet, crowned by the ruin of a turret. This is a solid mass of the finest kiln-burnt masonry, the circumference of which



Western face of the Birs Nemroud.

is ninety feet, viz. that face looking towards the south, twenty-seven feet; to the east, thirty; to the west, twenty-four; and to the north, nine. It is one hundred and ninety feet from the foundation of the pile to the base of the tower; and from the basement of the tower to its uneven summit, thirty-five. This measurement is taken at the western face, where the tower assumes a pyramidal form towards the top; whence it is rifted or split half-way down its centre. The southern face of the mound is the most perfect; and the western, which the foregoing engraving exhibits, the least; perhaps from the effects of the violent winds which prevail from that point. On digging into the base of this edifice, I found it composed of coarse sun-dried bricks, fastened together by layers of mortar and reed. At the depth of fourteen feet, bitumen was observable.

The bricks are so firmly cemented, that it is utterly impossible to detach any of them. They are a little thinner than those composing the ruins on the eastern bank of the river; and I

could not, from their firm position, ascertain whether they had any inscription, though, from the written fragments lying about, I have no doubt they all bear the Babylonian character on their lower faces.

This tower-like ruin is pierced throughout with small square apertures, probably to preserve the fabric from the influence of damp; and instead of bitumen, a very thin layer of lime is spread between every single brick. On the summit of the pile, at the foot of the standing brickwork composing the tower, and on the north and western faces, are several immense brown and black masses of brickwork, more or less changed into a vitrified state, looking at a distance like so many edifices torn up from their foundations, being generally of an irregular form, and some resting on mere pivots.

Vitrified Mass of Brick-work at the Birs.

Previous to examination, I took them for masses of black rock: some of these huge fragments measured twelve feet in height, by twenty-four in circumference, and from the circumstance of the standing brickwork having remained in a perfect state, the change exhibited in these is only accountable from their having been exposed to the fiercest fire, or rather *scathed by lightning*.*

* "The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, *and her high gates shall be burnt with fire*."—*Jer.* ch. li. v. 58.

A little below these vitrified masses, on the north-west face of the ruin, fine brickwork is distinctly visible, each brick measuring one foot square, by four inches thick. There are also small square holes running deep into the pile, and in some places the bricks are greatly injured by exposure.

Still descending, there is a larger ruin of this kind of wall, which assumes an angular form. The bricks here are thirteen inches long, by four and one quarter thick, and are cemented together with a coarse layer of lime upwards of an inch deep, with an *impression only* of matting or straw. They are not level, but slope gently from the north face towards the east, and from the east face towards the south—a curious circumstance. Below this is a large square deep hole, through which the materials of the structure are very discernible, consisting principally of sun-dried bricks of similar dimensions as the kiln-baked.

These appear cemented together by mortar and bruised reeds, or chopped straw, an

inch in thickness, and through this mass holes measuring two feet in height, by one in width, appear to penetrate to the heart of the building. Bitumen, which is found at the base of most of the ruined structures, is likewise discernible in this pile. None is to be found in the upper portion. This, it must be remarked, confirms the following passage of Herodotus,—"διὰ τριηκοντα δομων πλινθου," &c.

The whole summit and sides of this mountainous ruin are furrowed, by the weather and by human violence, into deep hollows and channels, completely strewed with broken bricks stamped with three, four, six, and seven lines of writing, stones, glass, tile, large cakes of bitumen, and petrified and vitrified substances.

CHAPTER X.

Immense hill.—Koubbé, a Mahometan building.—Excavations made by the Arabs.—Urns, Alabaster Vase, &c.—Custom of Urn-burial.—Tombs described by Captain Basil Hall.—Village of Ananah.—Situation of Babylon.—Pyramidal Ruin, called El Hamir.—Mode of Building.—Characters on the Bricks.—Cylindrical Bricks.—Colossal bronze Figures.—Tomb of Ali Ibn Hassan.—Departure from Hillah.—Predictions of Isaiah.—The Author's arrival at Bagdad.

An open quadrangular area extends for a considerable distance around the Birs, though its base is encircled by small ridges of mounded earth. I must not, however, pass unnoticed one immense hill scarcely a hundred yards distant from the eastern front of this stupendous fabric. It stretches away north and south to a breadth of 450 yards, when its extreme points

curve and meet to the eastward, after having occupied a space of 650 yards. Its height is fifty-five feet. This mound is also very deeply furrowed into countless channels, covered with nearly the usual *debris* of former building, except that the fragments of vases and glazed pottery are inconceivably fresh and abundant.

On its summit is a Mohammedan building, called Koubbé, generally pronounced *Goubbah*, meaning, in Arabic, a cupola, or dome. It goes by the name of Makam Ibrahim Khalil:* the Arabs say, that Nimrod ordered a fire to be kindled near it, and commanded the prophet Abraham to be cast into it; while that "mighty hunter before the Lord" viewed the frightful exhibition from the summit of his tower †.

The ruined portion of another Koubbé stands a little to the south, called Makam Saheb Ze-

* "Ibrahim al Nabi et Ibrahim Khalil Allah; c'est à dire, Abraham le Prophet ou l'ami de Dieu, est le même qu'Abraham le Patriarche, qui est reconnu pour père par les Arabs, aussi bien que par les Juifs."—*Vide D'Herbelôt.*

† See Appendix. Note V. page 259.

man, to which also several curious traditions are attached. It being a clear day, I was induced to remain till near sunset to see if I could observe the gilt domes of Meshhed Ali, which bears south, and Messhed Hussein north-west, but I was unsuccessful.

At a distance of two hundred and seventy feet from the northern and western faces of the Birs, and on an eminence, there are several deep cavities formed by the Arabs, when digging for hidden treasure. The intervening space has no elevated traces of building (though there are vestiges of pavement and old foundations); but close to these excavations are portions of masonry, composed of furnace-brick, stamped with three lines of cuneiform writing. I directed my attention to the largest excavated spot, and found it ten feet deep by six square. In its sides were bricks irregularly and, apparently, hastily placed; and, on digging along each face, I discovered them to be filled with urns containing ashes *alone*.

On examining one, I picked out an enamelled bead perforated through the centre, and some teeth; the interior portion of which became pulverised on being touched; but the enamel had remained as hard, and the polish in the same beautiful condition, as if it had just belonged to a living being. These urns had no bitumen whatever attached to them, and I found it impossible to extract one in a perfect state; on removing the earth around, they instantly broke to pieces. The fragments of an alabaster vase were lying at the north end of this excavation.

It would appear that urn-burial, so far from being confined to the Greeks and Romans, as supposed to be the case by some authors who have lately written on the sepulchral vases found at Babylon; independently of the proof already afforded in the Appendix,* of the sanction of this practice by the religious institutes of the Desatîr, was venerated by the an-

* See Note G. p. 248.

cient Persians. A similar custom obtains among the idolaters of the Loo-choo Islands, as is evident by the following extract from the interesting volume of Captain Basil Hall.

"They have large tombs or cemeteries for their dead, being mostly of the Chinese form, viz. that of a horse-shoe. They are formed of stones and mortar, and are covered with a coat of chéenam, (shell lime,) which is always kept nicely whitewashed and clean swept: some are more highly finished than others; their size varies from twenty to thirty feet in length, by twelve to fourteen feet broad. The coffin, when closed, is placed in the vault under the tomb, and is not touched for six or seven years, by which time the flesh is found to have separated and wasted away; the bones are then collected, and put into jars ranged in rows on the inside of the vault. Burning is never used at any stage of the proceedings, nor under any circumstances. In the course of time, when these become crowded, the vases are removed to

houses appropriated to their reception above-ground: such must have been the building described by Mr. Clifford, in the village near Port Melville.

" The lower orders, who cannot afford these expensive tombs, take advantage of hollow places in the rocks, which, by a little assistance, are made secure vaults. In the cliffs behind the village of Oonting, the galleries cut for the reception of the vases must have been the work of men possessed of power and authority. Not being fully aware what the Chinese customs are with respect to the dead, in ordinary cases, it is impossible for us to say how nearly they resemble those of Loo-choo, but there are certainly some points of resemblance." *

The whole tract between Hillah and these ruins, appears very marshy, sterile, and sandy. Three lakes, or marshes, are very conspicuous

* See " Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the west coast of Corea, and the great Loo-choo Island." Cap. iii. page 204. 4to.

hence, the first bearing S. W. the second W.N.W. and the third, N.N.E.—One of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon, is named "The burden of the desert of the sea," (ch. xxi. v. 1.) for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters, in the Oriental style, is called *a sea*, but also that the places about Babylon are said from the beginning to have been called *the sea*. It was a great barren morassy desert originally: such it became after the taking of the city by Cyrus, and such it continues to this day.—*Bishop Newton on the Prophecies.*

Eight or nine miles to the N.N.W. of Birs Nemroud, parallel with the embankment on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and nearly opposite the Kasr, is a village called Ananah, upon the river's bank; to the north-west a long, low, dark hillock runs apparently north for three hundred and twenty yards, when it turns to the east, and continues in that direc-

tion to the bank of the river, where portions of sun-dried and furnace-baked bricks are plainly discernible.

Near the village of Thamasia, (which name would indicate its foundation by Shah Thamas of the Sefi house,) four miles to the westward of Hillah, and situated within a grove of date-trees, there are several elevated mounds, composed of the kiln-burnt fabric, with the arrow-headed writing upon them, extending nearly to the eastern ridge of low hillocks which surrounds the Birs, and strewed over with pottery, broken bricks and coloured tile, but having no actual remains of ancient edifices. In following these heaps of ruin, I could not at every step help feeling convinced, that ancient Babylon occupied a very great portion of the western as well as the eastern bank of the Euphrates; and admitting this, the Birs Nemroud, by many (in my opinion most inaccurately) supposed to be the Tower of Babel, or Temple of Belus, will not be so far removed from a division of the city as I had at first sup-

posed; and certainly, from its present situation, I conclude that this grand heap, apparently the remains of a bastion or battlement, erected as a defence to this quarter, stood in the south-west angle of the mighty city on the western side of the river. It does not appear to me at all unaccountable, that as many traces of building should be found on this side of the river as on the other; because we are expressly told, that Babylon resembled a country walled in, rather than a city; the walls, according to Herodotus, being sixty miles in circumference, and within this circuit a great portion of ground was cultivated with corn; in fact, a sufficient quantity to support the inhabitants during a long siege.

I should not omit to state, that there are many urns containing ashes (the bones being in the smallest fragments) in the bank from Ananah to within one hundred and fifty yards of the north end of the town of Hillah, and there are very visible traces of them on the opposite side, and for the same distance. These

are not placed horizontally only, but in every possible position; their dimensions vary in a great degree, while their contents differ very materially from those urns at the Mujellibah, where the bones are in a perfect state.*

I shall conclude with noticing a very remarkable conical ruin peculiarly worthy the attention of the antiquary. It is distant from Hillah eight miles, in a direction E. N. E. and the natives distinguish it by the name of El Hamir.† On reaching the foot of this ruin, I was immediately struck with the great similarity it bore to the Birs; particularly the upper portion or mass of deep red brickwork resembling the breastwork of a fort. Each face of this higher portion is of greater dimensions than the standing turret-like building on the top of the mound of Nemroud, although the proportions of its base are nearly a third less. It is not difficult to derive from this remain of anti-

* See Note on Urns, and the mode of burial, p. 248.

† See Appendix, W. p. 267.

quity, conceptions as grand as those suggested by the view of Birs Nemroud. Its circumference I found to be two hundred and eighty yards, or eight hundred and forty feet. Its height is seventy-five feet.

The foundation is composed of sun-dried brick, which extends half-way up the pile, the remainder being furnace-burnt, of a coarse fabrication. This pyramidal ruin is crowned by a solid mass of masonry, the bricks of which were so soft, that pieces might easily be broken off; but those composing the interior were as firm and hard as at the Kasr, and rather larger. The brickwork on the summit faces the cardinal points, and is much dilapidated. The face fronting the north measures thirty-six feet, the south thirty-seven, the east forty-seven, and the west fifty.

The bricks are cemented together with a thick layer of clay, and between the courses of brickwork, at irregular distances, a layer of white substance is perceptible, varying from

one quarter to an inch in thickness, not unlike burnt gypsum, or the sulphate of lime. From the peculiarly mollified state of the bricks, I apprehend this white powder is nothing more than common earth, which has undergone this change by the influence of the air on the clay composing the bricks.

I have heard it more than once advanced, that the white layers interposed between the bricks in this ruin are merely what remain of the courses of reeds. It however appears to me, that, granting the atmospheric action had reduced their exposed surface to the colour of plaster, yet the peculiar structure of the vegetable substance would have been discernible as long as its component particles held together. In no case did I see this; I conclude, therefore, that these white layers are not the remnants of reeds.

Throughout the ruin, small square apertures, similar to those at Birs Nemroud, are observable; but neither lime nor bitumen can be seen

adhering to the bricks, though large pieces of the latter substance are very abundant at the base of the mound.*

The Babylonian writing on these bricks, which measure fourteen inches long, twelve and a half broad, and two thick, contained ten lines in an upright column, and many stamped across to the angles of the brick; whereas at the Mujellibah, Birs, and Kasr, I only met with three, four, six, seven, and nine lines. It was only at the platform that I found specimens with ten lines, which must certainly be considered rare. These inscriptions appear to have been stamped on the brick while in a soft state, by a block of wood, and in a very great degree resemble the nail-headed writing of Persepolis, though their form and arrangement differ.

In speaking of these most curious antiques, Mr. Rich says, "No idea of the purpose these inscriptions were intended to answer, can be

* See Appendix, X. Note on Babylonian bricks, p. 267.

formed from the situation the bricks are found in, which is such as to preclude the possibility of their being read till after the destruction of the buildings they composed. At the ravine in the mound of the Kasr, I was present at the extracting of above a hundred of them, and found that they were all placed on the layers of cement with their faces or inscribed parts downwards; so that the edges only (which formed the front of the wall) were visible: and from subsequent observation I ascertained this to be the case in every ruin where they are found; a proof that they were designedly placed in that manner.

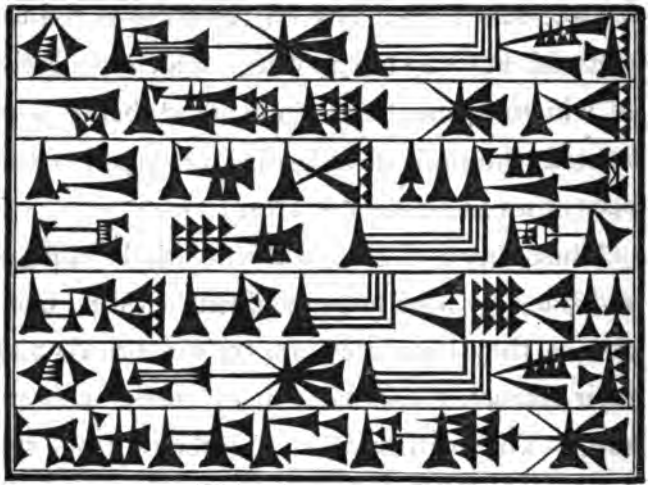
"The prospect," he continues, "of one day seeing these inscriptions deciphered and explained, is probably not so hopeless as it has been deemed. Leaving the attempt to those who have more leisure, ability, and inclination for such undertakings, than I possess, I shall content myself with suggesting, that from the specimens now before us, some points may be

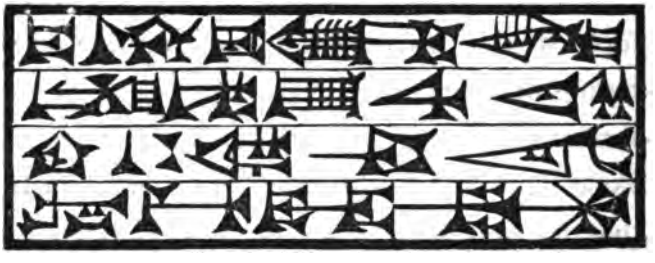
established, the importance of which those skilled in the art of deciphering will readily acknowledge.

"The language may safely be pronounced to be Chaldee; the system of letters an alphabetical and not a symbolical one; and each figure we see on the bricks, a simple letter, and not a word or a compound character; the number of different characters, with their variations, may be therefore easily ascertained. Any one, however, who ventures on this task, should have a thorough knowledge of the Chaldean language, as well as indefatigable application: aided by these qualifications, and furnished with a sufficient quantity of specimens, he might undertake the labour with some prospect of success."

I shall here take the opportunity of remarking, that it appears the Babylonians had three different styles of written characters, answering to our large hand, small text, and round hand. The two first are found on the bricks

which measure from twelve to thirteen inches square, by three and a half thick.





The latter style of written characters is seen on other bricks rather less than half that size, on cylindrical *barrels* made of the very finest furnace-baked clay, and on tablets of the same material, but varying in shape and size; some of which, I should imagine, from being perforated through their centre or sides, have been worn as amulets or talismans.

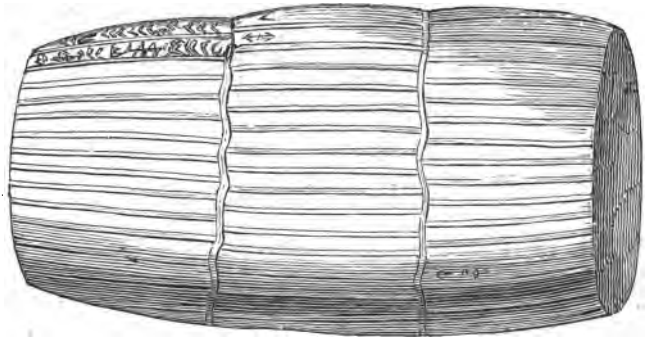
These inscriptions cover the whole surface and sides, without being confined within a margin, as they invariably are on the bricks, and their characters assume a more *cursive* appearance. The barrels are very different from the longitudinally perforated talismanic cylinders; which, in addition to the arrow-headed or cuneiform writing, invariably exhibit mythological figures of men, women, and animals; while the former are covered with the small running-hand alone, executed with such delicacy and nicety, that to copy them correctly is a task almost impracticable.

Of these, only four have (to my knowledge) been hitherto found: two are in the British

Museum, belonging to Mr. Rich's collection; the third and fourth are in the possession of private individuals. With the greatest difficulty, in my examination amongst the fallen edifices of Babel, and laborious search after every fragment and vestige of antiquity that might remain of a people of the primitive ages of the world, I had the good fortune to find one of these beautiful specimens of Babylonian brick-writing, in one of the innumerable unexplored winding passages, at the eastern side of that remarkable ruin the Kasr, or great castellated palace. It was deposited within a small square recess, near a fine perfect wall, the kiln-burnt materials of which were all laid in bitumen, and the ground was strewed with fragments of alabaster sarcophagi, and enamelled brick, still retaining a brilliant lustre.

Many fractured masses of granite of inconceivable magnitude, (some chiselled in a pyramidal form,) prevented my penetrating far into this intricate labyrinth; the way to which

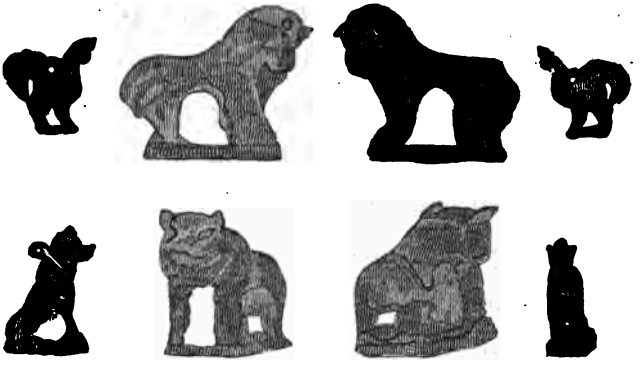
is by a *souterrain*, and must be entered in a creeping posture. The annexed engraving exhibits an exact representation of the shape of this cylindrical brick, which is very similar to those possessed by Mr. Rich; but its proportions are much greater, as it measures nine inches in length, by sixteen in circumference.



Babylonian cylinder in the Author's possession.

Bronze antiquities, generally much corroded with rust, but exhibiting small figures of men and animals, are often found amongst the

ruins: these are valuable and interesting, as being the earliest specimens of the metallurgic science.



Diodorus Siculus observes, that on the walls of the palace were colossal figures in *bronze*, χαλκας εικονας—representing Ninus, Semiramis, the principal people of their court; and even whole armies drawn up in order of battle.* These designs must have required the greatest skill, and no small labour. The art of fusing the most stubborn metals was

* Lib. ii. p. 97.

known from the earliest days, as we find in Genesis, chap. iv. ver. 22., that Zillah bore Tubal Cain, *an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron;* and the innumerable golden statues that ornamented the temple and palace, are sufficient proofs of the knowledge of this art. I was unsuccessful in tracing any samples of those mill-stones mentioned by Xenophon, in his Anabasis, lib. i. cap. 2. as having been dug up by the inhabitants of the Euphrates; which, after being formed, were conveyed to Babylon for sale.

At a considerable distance to the northward and eastward of El Hamir, a very large assemblage of mounds, the remains of some extensive buildings, are divided by a canal running south. The ground surrounding this spot is covered with nitre, and cut by countless canal beds of great antiquity; while very visible vestiges of ancient edifices exist: but the place being so far removed from the site of the venerable city, and seeing no end to my re-

searches if attempting to prosecute them farther to the eastward, which I well knew would have ended in disappointment, from the unsettled and unsafe state of the country; I was induced, however reluctantly, to retrace my steps to Hillah.

The direction from El Hamir to the town, was S. 60° W. for an hour, the whole of which time was occupied in crossing the dry beds of innumerable canals; some of great depth, and varying from ninety to one hundred and fifty feet in width. Their course was S.E. Other minor channels run north and south, extending as far as the eye can reach.

Three miles and a half from El Hamir, on the direct road to Hillah, in the centre of a small date grove, is situated the tomb of Ali Ibn Hassan. From this sequestered, shady, and beautiful spot, the Mujellibah bore N. 70° W., El Hamir, N. 45° W., and Hillah Minaret, S. 10° W. An hour and a half brought me to the bridge a little after sunset. It is not im-

probable that the above-noticed mounds may have formed some exterior building to the great metropolis; and the circumstance of the arrow-headed writing being engraved on the lower face of every brick, bears ample testimony to the great antiquity of the spot, were any doubt entertained, from its being so far removed from the generally received position of the walls of the city.

Desirous as I may be, of not hazarding an unfounded hypothesis, as to the portions of the ancient capital, which the remains now seen to the north-east and south-west of the river might have suggested; yet El Hamir and the Birs are so conveniently placed in those relative lateral bearings with the Kasr, as the central pile, at two extreme points of the quadrangular area of the city, that the probability of these two masses forming parts of its two farther quarters, often forced itself on my attention. As I have already observed, the mounds beyond El Hamir to the north-east, might too, if not

parts of the wall, have been suburban remains of this side of the metropolis. Speculation alone is left to us: until the ruins about this celebrated spot are more correctly observed and clearly delineated, little more can be said with truth as the basis of the assertion.

On the 6th of December, I bade adieu to Hillah and the majestic Euphrates. I could not but reflect, that the masses of the most ancient capitals in Europe bore no comparison with the mighty ruins which still exist on its banks. From an elevated spot near the village of Mohawwil, I turned to take a parting glance at the tenantless and desolate metropolis. It was impossible not to be reminded of the fulfilment of the predictions of Isaiah; and I involuntarily ejaculated, in the words of that sublime and poetical book:—"Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt

in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.* But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces." (*Isaiah*, chap. xiii. ver. 19, 20, 21, and part of 22.) How wonderful is the fulfilment of these predictions, and what a convincing argument of the truth and divinity of the Holy Scriptures!

It was after sunset: I saw the sun sink behind the Mujellibah: and, again taking a long last look at the decaying remains of Babylon and her deserted shrines, obeyed, with infinite regret, the summons of my guides.

* What a faithful picture of complete desolation is this!—for it is common in these parts for shepherds to make use of ruined edifices to shelter their flocks in; and it implies a great degree of solitude, when it is said, that the ruins of Babylon shall be fit for wild beasts only to resort to.

After traversing the vast wastes of Babylonia for three days, I reached Bagdad in safety; inexpressibly delighted with the scenes I had contemplated during the ten days of absence from that city, the recollection of which, no time can ever efface from my memory.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTES.

Note A, page 3.

[The Tower at Dair.]—Fath Ullâh ebn Alwân il Kaabi, in his history of the modern Basrah, entitled Zâd ul Musâfir, written a century and a half ago, speaks of "Dair, a town north-west of Basrah, remarkable for a tower of such colossal dimensions and beautiful structure, as to appear to be the work of Genii."—Ibn ul Wardi, in the Khaûcilat ul Ajâib, in addition to a similar account, says, that "strange sounds are occasionally heard to proceed from the interior of the tower."

Great antiquity is attributed to this minaret by all the natives of the country. References to this spot, and to its old canal, which formed one of a number anciently excavated, to irrigate this dry though rich soil, might easily be multiplied, if necessary; but the two authorities above adduced appear sufficient to justify the remark in the text.

Note B, page 4.

[Koorna, or Apamea.]—Koorna was thus named by Seleucus, in honour of Apama, the daughter of Artabazus, the Persian.—See Universal History, Ancient, vol. ix. page 179, edit. 1747.

Note C, page 10.

[The Camel's thorn.]—This lowly plant affords a beautiful exemplification of the merciful care of Providence. It abounds in the deserts of Arabia, India, Africa, Tartary, and Persia. In most of these wilds it is the only food of the camel, that valuable inhabitant of such unfriendly wastes. Its lasting verdure refreshes the eye of the traveller; and, from the property possessed by its deep-searching tough roots, of collecting the scanty moisture of these arid plains, well known to the Arab, it is converted to the essential purposes of aiding in the production of a grateful and healthy nourishment for man.

The stem of the plant is in spring divided near the root; a single seed of the water-melon is then inserted in the fissure, and the earth replaced about the stem of the thorn. The seed becomes a parasite, and the nutritive matter which the brittle succulent roots of the melon are ill-adapted to collect, is abundantly supplied by the deeper searching,

and tougher fibres of the root of the camel's thorn. An abundance of good water-melons is thus periodically forced by the Arab from a soil incapable of other culture. This valuable native of the desert is the *hedysarum alhagi*. It bears its small oval leaves but a few days early in spring. The beautiful crimson flowers appear later in the same season, and are succeeded by the short moniliform pod peculiar to this genus.

Note D, page 14.

[Al Hid.]—This is a canal flowing into the Kerkha, near Hawizah, through groves of a species of calamus, growing luxuriantly in a low tract of country, between the Tigris and the Kerkha, inundated by the overflow of the former. On the subject of the canals and marshes of this region, an apposite quotation may be gleaned from a Persian biographical work, entitled Megalis al Moumenîn. The author of the Moajum (the celebrated Yacuti of Harna, the geographer,) remarks of Howaizah, that it is the diminutive of Houzah, which signifies collected or brought together. This district was peopled and organized by Amir Dabîs ebn Ghadhb the Asadi, in the Khalifat of Tayaa lillah, who here formed colonies of his tribe and dependants. This Dabîs is of the same tribe and name, though not the same individual, as the one who founded the town of Hillah on the Euphrates. Hawaizah is placed between Wâsit, Basrah, and Khuzistan,

in the midst of lakes and marshes which were formed by the inundations of the Tigris, in the time of Kesra Parwiz.

The same author also remarks, that the islands of Susiana are considered to form a part of this district. He enumerates three hundred and sixty distinct villages, the capital of which was named Madînah. They produced rice, dates, silk, oranges, limes, grapes, fish, and game in abundance. The inhabitants, who are Shiahs, are very numerous, warlike, highly superstitious, and notoriously predatory and revengeful.

Note E, page 19.

[The Kelek, or leathern raft of Assyria.]—The mode of navigation on the Euphrates, with vessels so peculiarly constructed, as the πλοῖα σκύτινα, or Navigia conacia of the ancient, and the Kelek of the modern Babylonians, remains unaltered; and it is but justice to the father of history to clear his text of the unintentional misinterpretation of his translators, and their followers, in this essential passage, and to prove more fully and clearly that he had seen what he so exactly depicts. It appears that the force of his description, and the error of his translators, are to be found here; νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι δια φθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, whereby the historian seems to describe most correctly what is done at the present day. It may be thus rendered: "having felled wil-

low-spars, they put them in order, and extended around them outwardly leathern bags (involucra vel segestria coriacia,) as a substratum or pavement."

This giving a pavement or substratum of skins to a raft of willow-spars tied tight together, has been misinterpreted willow-ribs covered with a coating of skins. At present, the trunk of the wild poplar is made use of, which is supported upon inflated bags of sheepskin flayed with peculiar art. The boat is managed as described by Herodotus; the spars are separated and sold at Bagdad; and the emptied skins carried back on camels, horses, mules, or asses, as best may suit the proprietor of them, to serve in supporting another load of spars and merchandise.

Besides the Kellek, or raft, there is a round ribbed boat, or corricle, used on the Tigris and Euphrates, covered, not with skins, but bitumen. But of this, the only valuable article is the bitumen; the ribs are of hin willow reds, or the midrib of the frond of the date-tree, and are useless, if the boat be broken up.

Two other kinds of boats used on both rivers, one long, sharp, and narrow, and another high and crescent-shaped, both rudely formed with wooden ribs and planks, and coated with bitumen, deserve to be noticed here; they however have nothing to do with the description of the air-supported raft of the venerable and veracious Historian.—See Herodotus, Clio. chap. 194.

Differing as the explanation of this passage of Herodotus, as here given, does from the descriptions of two modern

scholars celebrated for their knowledge of the dialect of their ancient original, it is perhaps necessary that the ground of difference or dissent should be explored. The authorities here relied upon are, the present method of construction of the vessel presumed to be alluded to by Herodotus, and the facility with which the interpretation herein adopted, may be derived from the meanings applicable to the words of the text. Had not the word νομέας once occurred in the chapter whence it was quoted, in a sense adverse to such a signification, it might have been interpreted "campestris" and "agrestis," as attributive of ἰτέης the willow; but it has been translated by "ribs," and "costas," derivable, I suppose, from "divido," one acceptation of "νέμω" the root; while ours would have flowed from "pasco," the other signification of the same.

The term "στεγαστριδας" is rendered by the word "bags," because "segestrium," or "segestre," its Latin equivalents, express something not remotely dissimilar to the term here used:—they mean ticken or linen, or leathern sack, which contains the stuffing of a mattress or quilt, particularly, as well as these last generally; they also signify the wrappers in which various goods are contained, or with which they are enveloped. Now the leathern bags, or sacks, on which the spars of the raft rest, are precisely the same as those in which goods of various kinds are preserved by the Arabs of Mesopotamia to this day.

Note F, page 29.

It may here be not devoid of amusement to offer some war-cries of the Arab tribes variously versified.

SONG.

I.

The Youth of the Hero, though quenched in war,
Than Eld of the Craven is dearer far.

Chorus.

A fair maid for the brave;
A deep brand for the slave,
Who can shun the death strife,
For contemptible life.

SONG.

II.

Why pause ye, friends? Our daughters urge
On, though their song our dying dirge.

Chorus.

Our charge the spring torrent,
The wild rushing current;
Our blade the red lightning,
Our havoc o'er-bright'ning.

SONG.

III.

Nor spare thy noble blood,
Thou chieftain Arab free!
Thy boy but marks the flood,
That he may bleed like thee.

Chorus.

If war be thy feast,
If sloth be thy fast,
Then not thou the least
Nor honour'd the last.

SONG.

IV.

Welcome the cry of the foeman to war!
My brand shall gleam o'er him his fatal star.

Chorus.

Whose the desert couch
Ne'er to foe may crouch;
Thick, though, as the sands,
Charge the rival bands.

SONG.

v.

Strive nobly, martyr, and be free;
Heaven opes, and Houris strive for thee.

Chorus.

None shall wed the flying slave;
E'en dogs shall bay the dastard knave.

A few remarks are here necessary, from the attempt which has been made to render the Arabic as closely as possible into English verse. Each song and chorus form a separate cry sung by the bravest of the tribe who advance to battle; the song, by three or four of the most expert, and the chorus in replication by the remainder. The women often accompany the men, and encourage them by songs and musical instruments; and revive their drooping powers by administering water during the battle.

This encouragement is alluded to in the second specimen. In the third, allusion is made to the fast of the month Ramdhan, and the festival at its conclusion; comparing war to the pleasures of the second, and peaceful sloth to the bitterness of the other. The figure in the last chorus points at the dishonour of an Arab flying from battle to his tents; where not only the tribe itself, but the very dogs shun the coward.

Note G, page 51.

[Sepulchral vases.]—By some who have lately described these lugubrious vestiges of the Babylonians, they have been assumed to contain the bones of Greeks and Romans, rather than of Asiatics; from the presumption that such a mode of burial did not accord with the religious opinions and institutions of these last.*

The following quotation will prove the contrary, as well as the fact, that similar vases are found in abundance in situations where these two great Western Empires had not colonised, or even inhabited; at Bushire, for instance, the Mesambria of Nearchus and Arrian, within less than two miles of the sea-shore. The passage referred to is taken from Mr. Erskine's translation of the "Desâtir;" and is given in the words of that accomplished Orientalist.—See Desâtir, vol. ii. page 29, verse 154, of the Book of the Prophet, the Great Abâd.

"A corpse you may place in a vase of aquafortis, or consign it to the fire, or to the earth.—Commentary. The usage of the Fersendajians regarding the dead, was this: After the soul had left the body, they washed it in pure water, and dressed it in clean and perfumed vestments;

* See Rich's Second Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, twenty-ninth page. Keppel's Travels, vol. i. pages 200, 201, second edition; and also, the Travels of Sir Robert Ker Porter in Babylonia, vol. ii. p. 373.

they then put it into a vase of aquafortis, and when the body was dissolved, carried the liquid to a place far from the city, and poured it out; or else they burned it in fire, after attiring it as has been said; or they made a dome, and formed a deep pit within it, which they built and whitened with stone, brick, and mortar; and, on its edges, niches were constructed and platforms erected, on which the dead were deposited; *or they buried a vase in the earth, and enclosed the corpse in it;* or buried it in a coffin in the ground; and, in the estimation of the Fersendajians, the most eligible of all these was the vase of aquafortis."

Note H, page 71.

[Tâq i Kesra.]—Hamdallah Mustoufî, in the geographical treatise entitled Nozhat úl Qûlûb, says, that Madâyen is the work of Tahmûrath Dîvband, of the Pîshdûdî dynasty of Persian kings, who named it Gardâbâd; Jumshîd completed it, and called it Teisebûn. It is the largest of the seven chief cities of Irâq, and was thence called Madâyen. Its six rivals are Kadesîah, Rûmîah, Hîrah, Bâbil, Halwân, and Nahrawân; all of which are now in ruins. Jumshîd built a stone bridge over the Diglah, which excited the admiration of Alexander; but the succeeding Persian race of kings destroyed this noble specimen of art.

Ardashir Babegan, who improved the city and made it his capital, was desirous of restoring the bridge, but without

effect; he consequently formed one of chains. The succeeding Kesras retained this city as their capital, which Shapour Dhu 'l Aktâf embellished, and wherein Nushirwân erected the Aiwan i Kesrâ. This is a palace built of burnt bricks and lime; and to this time not a brick has been removed.

The area of the building was a square of one hundred and fifty gaz; its principal hall was forty-two gaz in extent, eighty-two long, and sixty-five high. Encircling it were smaller buildings and apartments worthy of the principal structure.

Abu Dawaniq, the Khalifah, was desirous of removing the materials of this city for the use of his projected capital at Bagdad; Sooleimân ebu Khâlid, his Wazir, dissuaded him from this, saying, that he would be reproached by mankind, for the destruction of one city to aid in the foundation of another, as betraying a want of resources.

The monarch reprobated his minister's lurking tenderness for the fame of the Kesra; and, commencing the work of destruction, soon found that the expense attendant on the disjunction and removal of the materials of the city would far exceed the cost of new preparations. He was now anxious to desist; but was reminded by the Wazir, that, having commenced, he should persevere, or he would be exposed to the imputation of being less powerful than the founders of the city. Sooleimân advised however, at the same time, that the tâq, or arch, should remain untouched, as a lasting evidence to mankind of the prophetic character

of Mohammed, on the night of whose birth it was miraculously rent. Madayen is now in ruins. On the western side, however, a small town remains; and on the eastern, the tomb of Selman i Farsi.

Note I, page 77.

The following explanatory lines may be added from the Oriental Dictionary of D'Herbelôt, *in voce*.

[Selman.]—"Abou Abdalla Selman Al Farsi, appellé aussi Selman Al Khair. C'est le nom d'un affranchi de Mahomet, qui étoit Persien de nation. L'on dit qu'il étoit Chrétien, et qu'il avoit lû les livres Saints et voyagé beaucoup. Cependant, il fût des premiers et des plus considerables entre les Musulmans; ensuite que quelques-uns disent de luy que bana aleslam, c'est à dire, que c'est luy qui bâti le Musulmanisme.

"Il y a dans la vie de Mahomet, que dans la journée du Khandak, c'est à dire, du fossé ou de la tranchée, Mahomet ayant assigné quarante brasses de terrain à creuser pour chaque dixaine d'hommes, chacun vouloit avoir Selman de son côté, à cause de sa vigueur, et les fugitifs de la Mecque d'un côté et les Auxiliaires de Médine de l'autre, étant divisez sur son sujet, Mahomet prononça ces paroles: Selman menna ahel albeit—Selman est à nous et de nôtre Maison; et il ajoûta même, V hou ahed alladhin eschtacat

alïahem alginnat—et il est un de ceux que le Paradis désire, c'est à dire, du nombre des predestinez.

" L'Auteur du Raoudhat alakhiar rapporte, que Selman mourut dans la ville de Madaïn, capitale de la Perse, de laquelle Omar l'avoit fait Gouverneur l'an 35 de l'Hegire, à l'âge de deux cent cinquante ans.

" Le même auteur ajoûte, qu'il vivoit du travail de ses mains, et qu'il donnoit le surplus de ce qu'il gagnoit aux pauvres. Abon Horaïrah et Ans Ben Malek, deux personnages de grande autorité sur les traditions, avoient reçu les leurs de Selman, et Selman immédiatement de Mahomet."

Note K, page 90.

[Bagdad.]—The following account of this celebrated city is extracted from the Noshat úl Qûlûb of Hamdallah Mustoufî.

" Baghdad is the metropolis of the Arabian Irâq, and a city of Islâm, situated on the Diglah. In the age of the Kesras, there was on this site, on the western side, a village named Kerkh, founded by Shâpûr Dhu 'l Aktâf; and on the eastern bank the small town of Sâbât, a dependency of Nahrawân.

" The Kesrâ Anûshirwân laid out ten parks and gardens in the open country in the vicinity, and called them Bâghdâd. By the Arabs it is named Qûbbet úl Islâm. Almansûr Billah, the second Abbasside Khalif, surnamed Abu Dawâniq, founded the city A. H. 145, building chiefly on the western

shore. His son, Mahdî Billah, fixed his seat on the eastern side of the river, and added considerably to the mass of edifices, which, in the reign of his successor, Hârûn, were increased to the extent of an area of four Farsakhs, by one and a half. His heir, Mootasim Billah, removed the capital to Sâmirah, to free the inhabitants from the violence of his Mamelukes.

"His example was followed by seven of his successors, until, in the reign of Mootadhid Billah, the sixteenth Abbasside Khalif, the seat of government was transferred to Baghdad, where all his successors have retained it. Mûktafî Billah, the son of the preceding, founded the Dár v Shâtibîyyah, and the Jâmaa, on the eastern shore; and Mústadhhir Billah surrounded it with a ditch, and wall of lime and kilnbricks; the portion of which to the east, named Haramein, was eighteen thousand kâms long, and had four gates; the Khorâsân, the Khilif, the Hatabîyah, and the Sûq ús Sûltân.

"The western, or quarter of Kerkh, is guarded by a wall of twelve thousand kâms; and most of the edifices of the city are of lime, and burnt bricks."—The author describes the air as good to strangers, or natives; the inhabitants, and particularly the women, as healthy, fat, ruddy, and devoted to gaiety; cattle as thriving, but some kinds scarce; the pasturage excellent; the grain abundant, and highly nutritive. The soil rich and productive, rather more favourable for plants of warm than cool stations. He particularly alludes to the lofty stature which the Tamarix Orientalis

and the Ricinus Communis usually attain in the genial soil of this country. Shrines, and tombs of holy men, are abundant, both in the city and in its immediate and more remote vicinity; too numerous to be noticed in this place.

[L. M. N.]

These refer to some Arabic notes in the author's possession, which it was first intended to give in the Appendix, but which it was afterwards thought desirable to omit.

Note O, page 111.

[Nabocadnassar.]—"Les Arabes appellent ainsi celui que nous appellons vulgairement Nabuchodonosor. Ce mot Arabe est assez conforme au nom que les Hebreux lui donnent. Les mêmes Arabes appellent plus ordinairement ce Prince, qui étoit Roi des Assyriens et des Babyloniens, Bakht, ou Bokht al Nassar, nom qui est aussi le plus en usage chez les Persans et chez les Turcs. Les Historiens Orientaux, et principalement les Persiens, donnent aussi à ce Prince les noms de Raham et de Gudarz."—D'Herbelôt, tome 3, page 1.

Note P, page 120.

[Hillah.]—The author of the Majalis úl Moumenîn, under the article of Hillah, states, that it is a large city between

Kûfah and Baghdâd, and that the site was originally named Jâmiain. The first individual who settled and constructed houses on the spot was Amir Seif ud doulah Sadagah ebn Mansûr ebn Ali ebn Mazîd the Asadi, whose ancestors dwelt in the neighbourhood of Nîl, on the Euphrates. While the different Seljicke Princes of Irâq were in open dissension against each other, he acquired rank and riches, kept up an army, and in Moharram of the year A. H. 595, came to Jâmiain, and encamped in the neighbourhood of, what then was, a forest tenanted solely by animals of prey. He shortly cleared the place, and founded a city, which became in time one of the most flourishing of Irâq; and this is the modern Hillah.

Note Q, page 161.

BABEL.

Extracts from Masûdi.

[I.]—The Farât then flows on to Rakkah, to Rakbah, Hît, and Ambâr, at which point several canals are divided from the river; as, for instance, the canal of Isá, which, after passing beyond Baghdad, falls into the Diglah. It then winds towards the sites of Sûrâ, Kasr ebn Hobairah, Kûfah, Jâmiain, Ahmedabad, Albirs, and the mounds, &c. &c.—*Vide Mas. chapter of the course of the river Farât.*

[II.]—Many of the most able and distinguished historians are of opinion that the first kings of Bâbil were those pris-

tine monarchs of the world who first settled and civilized mankind, and that the first race of Persian potentates were their successors by conquest, as the empire of Rome increased on the subjection of the Greeks.

They maintained, that the first of these Princes of Bâbîl was Nemroûd the Mighty, whom they suppose to have reigned during sixty years, and to whom they attribute the excavation of the canals, in the province of Irâq, derived from the stream of the Farât. One of these is the celebrated canal of Kûthá, on the road to Kûfah, between Kasr ebn Habairah and Baghdad.—*See Mas. chapter of the Kings of Babel.*

[III.]—The capital of the kingdom of Aferaidûn was Bâbil; which is one of the climates of the earth, so designated from the name proper to one of its towns. This town is situated on both banks of one of the canals derived from the Farât, in the province of Irâq, distant an hour's journey from the city named Jisr. i. Bâbil and the canal of Albirs; from which last-named town, the produce of the Birsæan looms, the cloths of Birs, derive their appellation.

Near the town of Bâbil is an excavation usually known as the well of the prophet Daniel, which is much frequented, both by Jews and Christians, on certain anniversary festivals peculiar to each sect. Any individual visiting this town cannot but be struck by the amazing mass of ruined structures thrown together in scarcely distinguishable heaps.

The opinion is very prevalent that these are Hârût and Mârût, the angels mentioned in the Koran, in the passage which marks the fate and designation of Bâbil.—*See Mas. Chap. Of the Kings of Babil.*

[IV.]—Muhammad ebn Histram al Kalbi relates, on the authority of his father, and other Arabian authors of note, that they believed that the first king of the world was Ashkedan; and that thus also were named the earliest monarchs of the first race of the Persian kings, down to Dârâ ebn Dârâ. The next were called Ardawân, who were princes of the Nabatæan race, and of the number of the Mûlûk úl Tawâyif. They were of the province of Irâk from the vicinity of Kasr ebur Hobaírah and the river Farât, and Jâmiain and Sûrâ and Ahmedabad, and Albirs to the districts bordering on the sea and its shores.—*See Mas. Chap. Of the Persian Kings intermediate between the first and second dynasty.*

Note R, page 174.

[Nil Canal.]—This canal is so named from a town on the Euphrates, between Baghdad and Kufah, according to *Abulfeda* in his table of Irâq; and *Semaanî, in voce, in his Kitâb ul Ansâb,* says that indigo was there made and sold.

Note S. page 183.

[The Athlah.]—This picturesque inhabitant of Babylon is, if not a distinct species, at least a beautiful variety of the Tamarix Orientalis, which it resembles in every respect, except that the common petioles, on which the small scaly leaves are strung, are longer, more slender, and less burthened with leaves, springing from the sides, than the common Tamarisk of the country. From the Arabic Materia Medica of Ebn Kibtî the Baghdadî who flourished A. H. 711, may be learnt, *in voce*, that the "Athl is a large variety of the Turfâ, or Tamarisk; and is a well-known tree which the people of Baghdad plant over their graves, and in other situations. It rivals the tallest cypresses in stature."—See, in confirmation, Note K.*

Note T, page 202.

[The Birs.]—The word Birs, as applied to the mound of Nimrod, cannot be satisfactorily explained in Arabic as a derivative of this language; and it would appear, that all attempts to deduce it from the Hebrew or Chaldaic tongues, have failed; as they are founded on a

* My friend, Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq. Vice President of the Linnean Society, FRS. MRAS. &c. &c. showed me a beautiful specimen of the Tamarix Orientalis, which I found to be the same as the Athlah.

change of the radical letters of the word, the great and overwhelming sin of most etymologists. The Qamûs gives Birs as the name of a town or district between Hillah and Kufah, which is still known; and is conjoined with Babel, in the Chaldaic Sîdrâ Rabbâ of the Sabæans, under the name of Bârsîf; whence the Borosippa of Strabo, and other ancient authors, directly proceeds.

Note V, page 203.

[Nemrod.]—In the first chapter of Masûdî's General History, near its close, the author remarks, that, of the sons of Shem, son of Noah, Mâsh, son of Aram, son of Shem, occupied the land of Babel; where was born Nimrod, son of Mâsh, who erected the vast Tower or Palace at Babel, and a bridge on the Euphrates. He was king of Nabat, and in his reign the separation of tongues took place.

Masûdî places the birth of this mighty monarch, to whom he attributes a reign of five hundred years' duration, in the age of Reu, son of Peleg. In this age, too, appeared the first dawnings of idolatry; which mode of adoration was adopted to avert public evils of various kinds that threatened the existing race of mankind.

The author farther states, that in the life of Terah, also named Azar, the worship of the heavenly bodies was introduced by Nimrod, and their respective gradations of rank ascertained. Great public calamities, and changes of domi-

nion in the East and in the West, occurred at this time, a period equally remarkable for the introduction of astrology, and the influence of its predictions on the minds of men. Nimrod was also informed that a child would be born, who would dissipate these idle dreams, and destroy their idolatry; which inducing the monarch to command the presence of the child, Abraham was placed in concealment. When he had advanced a little in age, he came forth from his cave, and, attracted by the beauty of the heavenly host, admired each in succession, and pronounced it to be his Lord.

Gabriel however turned his heart, and instructed him in the love and adoration of the One Eternal God. Abraham increased in holiness and piety, and derided and exposed the gods of his tribe and people. Their complaint was carried to Nimrod, who exposed him to the action of fire; but the Lord kept him cool and unhurt: and in that day, the planets, and their temples, in all parts of the earth, were humbled.

Hamdallah Mustoufî, in his chapter on mountains, rivers, &c. and in his first division, treating of the direction and extent of the routes and roads of Persia towards the neighbouring countries, remarks as follows:—"From Baghdad to Najaf, beyond the limit of Irân, are, first to the village of Sarsar, two farsangs; thence to the village of Qarâjeh, seven farsangs; thence to the *river of Nil*, seven farsangs; within half a farsang of which station, on the banks of the Farât, is the city of Bâbil. From the river of Nil to the town of Hillah, are two farsangs; thence to the city of Kûfah, seven farsangs; and one farsang on the left

of this road is *Birs, which was a residence of Nemroûd, at which he exposed Ibrahim Khalil, on whom be peace, to the action of fire.*"

To these notices it may be as well to subjoin a few particulars collected from other sources, confirmative of the account of the Arabian Historian above quoted. Terah, the father of Abraham, it is said, (Suidas, in voce, Αβρααμ, and Σεροχ, Lex. tom. i. and ii.) made statues and images for the purposes of that idolatrous worship, which had been transmitted to him from his ancestor Serug, and which he encouraged by example and exhortation.

Some Jewish authors relate (apud Genebrand, in Chron.) that Abraham pursued the same occupation; and Maimonides (More Nevochim, c. 29.) says, that he was educated in the religion of the Sabæans, who acknowledged no deity but the stars, and that he was led by his own reflection, to the belief of an intelligent Creator and Governor of the universe; but that he did not renounce paganism till the fiftieth year of his age. That he was brought up in the religion of the Sabæans, is an opinion adopted by Spencer, (De Leg. Heb. Ritual. lib. ii. c. i. § 2. vol. i. 279.—See Sabaism.)

Suidas *(ubi supra,)* informs us, that at sixteen years of age he cautioned his father against seducing men to idolatry for the sake of pernicious gain, and taught him that there is no other God besides [Him who dwells in Heaven, and created the whole world. It is added, that he destroyed the statues and images of his father, and departed with him from Chaldæa.

Others relate, (Heidegger Hist. Patriarch, tom. iii. p. 36.) that his father deputed Abraham to sell his statues in his absence, and that a man, who pretended to be a purchaser, having ascertained that he was fifty years of age, remonstrated with him for adoring, at such an age, a being which is but a day old. Abraham, impressed and confounded by this remonstrance, destroyed them all, excepting the largest, before his father's return; and he told him, that having presented an oblation of flour to the idols, the stoutest of them, in whose hands he had placed a hatchet, hewed the others to pieces with that weapon.

Terah replied, that this was bantering, because the idols had not sense to act in this manner; upon which Abraham retorted these words upon his father against the worship of such gods. But he was delivered up by Terah to Nimrod, the sovereign of the country; and because he refused to worship the fire, according to his order, he was thrown into the midst of the flames, from which he escaped uninjured.

Mr. David Levi, in his *Lingua Sacra*, has given an account of this tradition extracted from *Medrash Bereschith*: and it is related by Jerome, (Trad. Hebraic. in Genesin,) who seems to admit its general credibility. However, if we allow that Abraham, being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted in very early life to that superstition, it is certain that he renounced it, and that he was providentially removed from a scene of danger, and that he contributed to propagate just sentiments concerning the Deity

wherever he sojourned. The fame of his wisdom, piety, and virtue, spread far and wide among the nations of the world: this appears from the testimonies of Berosus, Hecatœus, Nicholas of Damascus, cited by Josephus, (Antiq. b. i. c. 7. apud Oper. tom. i. p. 28. ed Haverc.) and also from what is said of him by Alexander Polyhistor, Eupolemus, Artapenus, and others, whose testimonies may be seen in Eusebius's Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 16, 17, 18, 19. His name is mentioned with honour all over the East to this day. In just deduction from the premises detailed, it may be affirmed, that the Divine promise to this Patriarch was the foundation of that grand scheme for preventing the universal prevalence of idolatry, and for preserving among mankind the knowledge and worship of the only true God, which, after undergoing several variations and improvements, was to last to the end of time.

"Les Arabes disent, que ce mot signifie la même chose que Mared; c'est à dire, un rebelle et un revolté, nom qui convient fort bien à celuy qui fut l'auteur de la première revolte des hommes contre Dieu, par la structure qu'il entreprit de la Tour de Babel, et c'est celuy que nous appellons Nembrod.

"Selon le Tarikh Montekheb, le Nembrod des Hebreux est le même que le Zhohac des Persiens, roy de la première dynastie des princes qui ont regné dans le monde depuis le déluge. Mais, selon l'auteur du Mefatih alôloun, Nembrod est le même que Caïcaous, second roy de la seconde

dynastie de Perse, nommée des Caïanides. Ce même auteur donne au mot de Nemrod, ou Nemroud, une étymologie Persienne, à sçavoir, Nemurd, qui signifie celuy qui ne mourt point; et il dit, que ce surnom d'Immortel fut donné à Caïcaous, à cause des longues années qu'il regna. Car tous les Historiens de Perse le font regner plus de cent cinquante ans.

"Mirkhoud, dans son Raoudhat Alsafa, écrit conformément au sentiment de cet auteur que nous venons d'alléguer, que l'on a imputé à Caïcaous la folie de vouloir escalader le Ciel, ce qui convient assez bien avec le dessein extravagant de Nemrod et des autres constructeurs de la Tour de Babel, de la manière qu'il est couché dans les livres saints.

"Mais ce même auteur ajoûte, qu'il n'y a guères d'apparence, que Caïcaous, qui a passé pour un Prince fort sage entre les Persans, ait eu une telle pensée. Car pour monter au Ciel, poursuit Mirkhoud, parlant en bon Musulman, il faudroit être monté sur un Al Borac, et conduit par Gabriel, ce qui étoit reservé par un privilege singulier à Mahomet.

"L'auteur du Lebtarikh dit, que Nemrod étoit Ben Kenâan, Ben Kham; c'est à dire, fils de Chanaan et petit fils de Cham, fils de Noé, et qu'il étoit frère de Cous, surnommé en Persien Fil Dendan; c'est à dire, Dent d'Elephant. Ce Cous, ou Caous, pourroit être Chus, fils de Chanaan, dont parle l'Ecriture, et duquel sont descendus les Abissins ou Ethiopiens, que les Juifs appellent encore aujourd'hui Conschüm.

"L'auteur du livre intitulé Mâlern fait le récit fabuleux

d'une Histoire, de laquelle il prend Ali pour garant, dans les termes qui suivent.

" Nemrod ayant fait jetter Abraham, qui réfusoit de le reconnoître pour le souverain Maître et le Dieu du monde, dans une fournaise ardente, surpris de l'en voir sortir sans avoir souffert la moindre atteinte du feu, dit à ses courtisans : 'Je veux aller au Ciel pour y voir ce Dieu si puissant qu'Abraham nous prêche.' Ces gens luy ayant représenté, que le Ciel étoit bien haut, et qu'il n'étoit pas facile d'y arriver, Nemrod ne se rendit point à leurs avis, et commanda en même tems, que l'on bâtit une tour la plus élevée qu'il se pourroit. On travailla trois ans entiers à ce batiment; et Nemrod étant monté jusqu'au plus haut, fut bien étonné, en regardant le Ciel, de le voir encore aussi eloigné de luy, que s'il ne s'en fut pas approché. Mais ce qui luy causa et donna plus de confusion, fut d'apprendre le lendemain, que cette haute tour avoit été renversée.

" Nemrod ne fut point rebuté cependant par un accident si étrange, et voulut que l'on en rebâtit une autre plus forte et plus haute. Mais cette seconde tour eut le même destin que la première, ce qui fit prendre à cet insensé le dessein ridicule de se faire porter jusqu'au Ciel dans un coffre, tiré par quatre de ces oiseaux monstrueux, nommez Kerkes, dont les anciens auteurs de l'Orient font mention dans leurs romans.

" Le même auteur décrit exactement cette machine, de quelle manière ces oiseaux y étoient attachez, et dit enfin, que Nembrod s'etant apperçu de l'inutilité de son projet, après avoir erré et volé quelque tems par les airs, plongea si

rudement en terre que la montagne ou ces oiseaux le jetterent, en fut ebranlée, suivant ce qui est porté dans l'Alcoran au chapître intitulé Ibrahim, v. en kair mekrhom letezoul menho algebab ; c'est à dire, *les machines et les stratagêmes des impiés, vont jusqu'à faire trembler les montagnes.*

" Nembrod, après avoir vû echoüer une entreprise téméraire, et ne pouvant faire la guerre à Dieu même en personne, comme il avoit projetté, au lieu de reconnoître la puissance de ce souverain Maître et d'adorer son unité, persista toûjours dans le sentiment impie qu'il avoit de luy même, et continua à maltraiter tous ceux qui adoroient une autre divinité que luy dans ses états. C'est ce qui fit que Dieu luy ôta, par la division et par la confusion des langues, la plus grande partie de ses sujets, et punit ceux qui demeurèrent attachez à luy, par une nuée de moucherons qui les fit presque tous perir, selon le rapport de Demiathi.

" L'auteur du Lebab ajoûte, qu'un de ces moucherons étant entré par les narines de Nembrod, penetra jusqu'à une des membranes de son cerveau, où grossissant de jour en jour, il luy causa une si grande douleur, qu'il étoit obligé de se faire battre la tête avec un maillet, pour pouvoir prendre quelque repos, et qu'il souffrit ce supplice pendant l'espace de quatre cent ans, Dieu voulant punir par la plus petite de ses créatures, celuy qui se vantoit insolemment d'être le Maître de tout. Ebn Batrik dit que Nembrod étoit Mage et Sabien de religion, et que ce fut luy qui établit le premier le culte et l'adoration du feu.

" Il y a des historiens qui appellent les plus anciens rois des

Babyloniens, qui ont succedé à Nembrod, Nemared ; c'est à dire, les Nembrodiens. Car ce mot de Nemared est plurier Arabique que Nembrod, et signifie aussi dans la même langue des rebelles et des tyrans."—D'Herbelôt, tome troisieme, page 32.

Note W, page 220.

[Al Hámir.]—This word appears to be derived from the Arabic root hamara, which signifies to be, or become red. It is the form of the present participle, and has been applied to this mound, to denote the red mass or edifice. The colour and its attributive name are favourites with the people of the East generally, as " purple" and " porphyrian" seem to have been in the ancient West. Alhambra also, one of the four wards of the ancient city of Granada, is deducible from the same root. It was so called by the Moors, from the red colour of its materials, Alhambra signifying a red house. Sir Robert Porter asserts that Al Hymer (as he calls it) is not to be traced from the Arabic, whereas it is one of the commonest words in the language.

Note X, page 223.

[Babylonian Bricks.]—Beloe, in his Translation of Herodotus, Clio. cap. 179, says—" They used as cement a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of

reed, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks." The passage in the Latin translation of Laing's edition of Wesseling's Herodotus, is better rendered, and more conformable with the mode of cement preserved to this day. "Postea pro cœno vel calce utentes bitumine ferventi et per tricesimas latericias compages constipantes crates arundinum," &c. &c.

The text of Herodotus is still the most correct of the three, for his τέλματι is the clay cement now used; for which the ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ, or simple hot bitumen, was substituted in the courses near the earth, or under it; his ταρσοὺς καλαμων, the stems, and not the tops of the reeds, which to this day appear in layers between the bricks at the ruins of Babel. Beloe's version of this passage is licentious; and Herodotus still the best and clearest narrator.

HISTORY OF

MODERN BUSSORAH,

BETWEEN THE YEARS OF THE MOHAMMEDAN ÆRA, 953 AND 1076:

EQUIVALENT TO THOSE OF THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD, 1546 AND 1665.

N.B. The notes to this Account of Bussorah immediately succeed the text.

THE following is a short, though correct, sketch of the history of *modern* Bussorah, between the years of the Mohammedan æra, 953 and 1076, equivalent to those of the Christian period, 1545 and 1665. It is taken from the work of a learned Arab of the tribe Kââb, that at present occupy a large portion of Susiana, the modern Kuzistan, on the left bank of the Euphrates. He was an eye-witness, and even a sufferer in some of the scenes described in the latter portion of the narrative. The history

was composed in the year of the Hejrah, 1078. A. D. 1667.

The geographical matter contained in the notes subsequent to, and illustrative of, the historical portion of this narrative, will tend to explain the positions laid down in the map prefixed to this work; it is completely new, and from a source not usually accessible to Englishmen.

Bosairah is the diminutive of Basrah, a well-known city and district on the banks of the Shat ûl Arab, the *modern* Busrah. The united streams of the Digleh and Farât, from their confluence at the fort of Koornah, flow past its site. The ancient Basrah, built in the age of Omar ebn ul Khattab, is now in ruins. Shobî says, that in it was the mosque of Ali, son of Abû Tâlib, now also in ruins.* Two hundred ratls of dates were there sold for a dînâr. One of its canals, in the days of its prosperity, was that of Obillah, perhaps the Ashâr of the pre-

* See Note, page 287.

sent day; and Obillah itself probably the modern Basrah.

A canal, called Ashâr, intersects the modern Basrah in a south-westerly direction. The division on its right, or north-western bank, is called Nadhrân. Many lesser canals are derived from the principal stream of the Ashâr, towards the south-east; on which are placed other flourishing divisions of the district which, in their aggregate, constitute what is now called Basrah.

The first of these is Boraiha;* next Toofhat ul Abbâs; then Saimar; Mahallat ahl id Dair; Al Hoûz; Almin Kisar; in which are the residence of the Governor and the custom-house, where duties on the various imports from India, Arabia, and Turkey, are levied. Others of its well-peopled quarters are Mishrâq; Sûg úl Ghazl; Muhommad úl Jawâd; Adhaibah; Nabbat úl Jabâl, &c.; as well as many more, which, with their bazaars, well supplied with

* See Note A.

every necessary article, exceed all description.

The tide waters its gardens twice in a day and night, which produce delicious fruits of every kind, pleasing to the eye, or gratifying to the palate. The whole of these divisions, as well as that first named, Nadhrân, are included within a fortified wall. Basrah was taken in the reign of Sultân Sulaimân, son of Salîm, from the Arab Al. e. Maghâmis úl Muntafiq, A. H. 935. Sultan Mûhammad, son of Morad, whose reign commenced A. H. 1002, reigned nine years; in his reign Afrâsiâb Pasha governed Basrah.

Shaikh Abdul Ali ben Rahmah, however, in his work, Qatr úl Ghamâm, conceives, that he is referable to Dair only on the mother's side; and that his paternal ancestry is deducible from the Seljucks of Tartary; from whose monarchs, after the lapse of fourteen successions, the power of this house passed to Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

The father of Afrâsiâb unquestionably mar-

ried a lady of Dair, from whom issued the subject of this memoir. The cause of his elevation to the government of Basrah, as far as can be discovered, was as follows. He was writer in the office of military account at Basrah, at a period when the inhabitants united to expel their Turkish Pasha, named Ali, who finding his revenues daily decreasing, and with them the resource for maintaining his garrison, sold the government to Afrâsiâb for eight hundred purses, of 3000 muhammadis each: under the sole condition, that the Khotbah should continue to be delivered in the name of the Sultan Afrâsiâb, who agreed to the terms of contract, and the Turkish Pasha departed for Constantinople.

The government of Afrâsiâb was just and vigorous. He reduced the territory of Gobân, then held by a Turk named Bektash Agha, the scourge of his neighbours; the governor of Dûraq, and Seyyed Mubarek Khan, Prince of Hawizah.* The first he besieged and

* See Note B.

obliged to surrender with the sole promise of his life. He reduced all the islands of the lower river; and after compelling the Prince of Hawizah to restore the territory on the left bank of the Euphrates, dependent on Basrah, which he had usurped, he refused the future payment of a tribute formerly remitted to the Persians of that district. His power commenced A. H. 1005, and lasted seven years.

Afrâsiâb transmitted an hereditary succession to his son Ali Pasha, an encourager of learned men; a protector of his people; a wise and prudent administrator of the laws; and a cherisher of the resources of his territory. The celebrated poet, Shaikh Abdul Ali ebn Rahmah, the laureate of this house, shed a lustre on the age of Ali, whose court might justly be compared with that of Ras-chid, for the treasures of art, science, and literature which formed its splendid ornaments.

During this Pashalick, the islands of the higher Euphrates were subdued,* after having

* See Note C.

successfully resisted the armies of the Sultan. The fort of Muammir was wrested from the Pasha of Bagdad, and that of Zakkiah from the son of His Highness's deputy.

A large army was sent against him by the Persian King, Shah Abbâs; first under Imam Quli Khan, when the city maintained a powerful siege; but the love of the Pasha's subjects kept them firm in their adherence, till on the arrival, in the Persian camp, of intelligence of the decease of this monarch, they hastily retreated; abandoning their guns, baggage, and public property, to a large amount, in the year A. H. 1036. The power of Ali Pasha continued forty-five years.

Ali was succeeded by his son Hussein Pasha,* whose violence and injustice very soon estranged the hearts of his subjects, and encouraged his uncles, the sons of Afrâsiâb, Ahmed Agha, and Fathhî Beg, to revolt. They proceeded to Constantinople, and procured an order for the disposal of Hussein,

* See Note D.

and their own elevation in his stead. They were accompanied by a large army, under the command of Mûrtezâ Pasha of Bagdad.

When Hussein heard of their approach, he assembled his chief men in consultation; but soon discovered that they were averse to him, and inclined to the interests of his uncles. He upon this fled with his family and dependants to Dûraq, where leaving his consort and her followers, he proceeded to Behbehan, and remained there.

In the mean time Mûrtezâ Pasha, with Ahmed Agha, and Fathhi Beg, entered Basrah without opposition; and the Pasha was so pleased with the place, that he put the two sons of Afrâsiâb to death, and seized on the government for himself. This treacherous murder so disgusted the citizens and subjects, that they combined with the people of Jezayir, and rose in rebellion against Mûrtezâ, whose agents and servants they put to death wherever they were found; and thus obliged

the Pasha to fly with the remainder of his suite and garrison.

The people of Basrah repented of their conduct to Hussein, who was still residing at Behbehan; they sent him offers of submission, and he gladly returned to his government A. H. 1064.

Hussein increased his former oppression of the people; but patronised literature with unbounded munificence; and exhibited the most vigilant submission to the power of the Sultan, from whom, by force of princely offerings, he bought the Wezarât.

A. H. 1073, Hussein advanced with an army against Lahsa, and having reduced it, plundered the inhabitants, and put many of them to death. This unprovoked aggression, however, drew upon him the anger of the Sultan. Muhammed Pasha, son of Ali Pasha, fled to Constantinople, and complained of the outrage committed by Hussein; which was punished by the despatch of an Imperial army

against Basrah, under Ibrahim Pasha. Hussein continued to govern, till this army came in the year first mentioned, from first to last, twenty-one years up to the period of his flight, as will be detailed hereafter.

In this year the Turks came in great force to *Bosairah*. Hussein Pasha, at this time governor of the country, heard of their approach, and adopted every means of resistance. He strengthened and added to the fortifications, and directed all useless members of the population to leave the city in successive bands, which movement commenced on the first of the month Jamâdi th. Thanî.

A portion of the citizens of most consideration having complied with the commands of the governor, the remainder evinced a disposition to resist his mandate. He however, suspecting their intentions, proclaimed that the life and property of any individual directed to depart, who should be found in the town on the third day subsequent, should be forfeited.

The proclamation above related, caused the

greatest confusion and misery to the inhabitants, who poured forth in such multitudes, as to impede the common passage; the sufferings of women, who, now for the first time, appeared unveiled, thinking only of their children, were indescribable. Some were so heavily laden, that both mother and infant perished on the road.

The ties of nature appeared dissolved: father, son, brother, and husband, deserted those dearest to them, and fled for individual safety. The author witnessed the heart-rending scene, which was aggravated by a deluge of rain, that destroyed the bridges at Boraiha and Minâwî.*

During the flight, many endeavoured to save themselves on frail rafts of reed, and the canal and rivers were filled with them. At length, on the fourth morning, the city of Basra, its bazaars, coffee-house, mosques, and squares, colleges, and places of public assembly, were wholly deserted.

* See Note E.

Hussein sternly continued his plan of rendering his country a desert; and, in the middle of the month Rajab, the whole of the western bank of the river was cleared of inhabitants, who were plundered, beaten, and forced from their homes by two officers of Hussein, set over them; namely, Ibn Shâter Ahmed, for Sirrajee,* and Amir Hassan ebn Jahmâs for the rest of the Junûb. †

Ibn Shater, surnamed Ali, was one of the slaves of Hussein; while Amir Hassan, son of Thamas, was numbered among the free servants of Hussein Pasha; and a native of Dûraq, of the tribe or quarter of Hauz. His father left his native place for Basrah, and entered the service of Hussein Pasha: owing, it is said, to the fear of Mahdî Sultan, governor of Dûraq. He presented a gift to Hussein Pasha, part of which was his son Hassan, whose fortunes were rapidly promoted, until he became deputed to the government of Gobân; and

* See Note F. † See Note G.

during his administration the events above narrated occurred.

The same system of depopulation was next extended to the district of the Shimal * and to the Jezâyer; and was attended with similar scenes of misery, and the like disastrous results. In this case the exiles fled to Sahâb, Suaib, and Hawizah.

On the eighth of Shawwal, A. H. 1076., an imperial army, headed by Ibrâhîm Pasha of Bagdad, advanced against Basrah, for the purpose of deposing its Governor, who had incurred the displeasure of his Sovereign for his wanton attack on the Pashalick of Lahsa, before mentioned; which was undertaken in consequence of the perfidious advice of Yahya Agha, the minister of Hussein Pasha. Ibrâhîm is said to have been attended by seven other Pashas, at the head of fifty thousand Imperial troops. On hearing this, Hussein raised the new fort of Qúmat, and prepared to sustain a siege.

* See Note H.

When Ibrâhîm had reached the town of Arja, on the Tigris, he called upon the allegiance of the people of Basrah, and particularly addressed himself to the powerful family of the Kawawizah,* at whose head now was Sheikh Dhu 'l Kafal. They threw off the authority of Hussein, expelled the females of his family from the town, and put to death the deputy, Muhammed ben Bûdâgh.

Hussein Pasha, on learning this, surprised the Kawawizah in the night, and decapitated Sheikh Dhu Kafal, whose death remained undiscovered till morning; and with whom some of his chief companions were also put to death. This secret and decisive retribution put the remainder of the Sheikh's adherents to flight. Ibrahim Pasha, however, continued his advance against Koornah, which he besieged closely, though without ultimate success, for three months.

At the end of this time, pacific arrangements

* See Note I.

were entered into; Yahya Agha, the minister, was deputed to accompany Ibrahim Pasha, who promised to procure an imperial rescript in favour of Hussein, which should be brought to him by Yahya.

On the departure of Ibrahim, four of the Kawawizah, viz. Ahmed ibn Mahmûd, and Ibrahim ben Ali, and two other more obscure individuals, impelled by fear and the desire of revenge, accompanied the perfidious Yahya to the foot of the Imperial throne, ostensibly to procure the confirmation of Hussein, but, in reality, to forward their individual views. In this they succeeded so well by their insidious complaints, as to procure the nomination of Yahya to the government of his master, aided by a large Turkish force to compel his submission.

The Imperial army advanced to the number, some have said, of eighty thousand Turkish troops, and reached their destination, near Basrah, on the 14th Rajab, A. H. 1078. A. D. 1657.

The opposing parties soon came to a general engagement, and the result was the complete overthrow of the Arabs, the dispersion of the survivors, and the flight of the Pasha from the field of battle. The action took place in the neighbourhood of Koorna, to which Hussein Pasha trusted in his peril; but his females were lodged in tents, on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, at Sahâb and Suâib.*

After the Turks had driven the Arabs from the field, they were under the necessity of besieging Hussein in the fort of Aliyah, so called from Ali Pasha his father, who raised this fortification for his future security, and the protection of his power, after his memorable subjugation of the district of Jezâyir.

There was previously, however, a small fortified post, called Koornah, the name of which, as appears, is preserved to this day. Hussein Pasha, after being freed from the attacks of Ibrahim Pasha, added considerably

* See Note K.

to its capabilities of defence. It is formed of three concentric fortifications, built of mud, with a considerable clear space intervening between the successive cinctures; the river washes it on two sides, and on the third a deep ditch filled from the united streams. Though it was deemed impregnable, and Hussein attempted all that the crisis demanded, and his acknowledged military talents supplied, yet, after a long and rigorous siege, he was compelled to fly. The Pasha crossed over to his family at Sahâb, followed by the disorganized remnant of his forces.

The natives of Sahâb and Suâib, alarmed at their having sheltered their chief in the vicinity of the conquering force, and knowing the sure consequence of this severe reverse of fortune, at once abandoned their dwellings and property, and fled with the utmost precipitation to Hawaizah.

On the eleventh of Ramadhân the conquerors took possession of the town of Basra; and, from the morning till the noon of Friday, put

to death four thousand individuals, and treated it as the Basrah army had formerly treated Lahsa; when, having satisfied their vengeance, a general amnesty was proclaimed throughout the city.

Hussein, on his flight from the fort of Aliyah, proceeded directly to Dûraq; when, leaving his family, he advanced to Shiraz, to Sulaiman, King of Persia, with the view of seeking his interference and aid to recover his power. This attempt, however, was rendered ineffectual by the malice of some of the courtiers, who had previously suffered from Hussein, and now induced the King to reject his petition. He then, with his son Ali Beg, journeyed to India, to the city of Oojain, by the monarch of which country he was entrusted with the charge of a district; and, in defence of whose interests, both of them fell in the field of battle; not, however, before they had been joined by the females of their family from Dûraq, whose descendants still exist there.

NOTES.

A.

The site of the ancient city of Omar, and the portion of a wall, the remains of the Musjid, or Mosque of Ali, the nephew of Mahomet, not of Ali the Barmecide, as sometimes supposed, are to be found at the modern town of Zobair, eight miles south-west of the present Basrah. The traces of the canal of Obillah, the Apologus of Arrian and Nearchus, may yet be traced from the Euphrates, almost as far as the vicinity of Zobair.

Boraihah, is the diminutive appellation of a quarter of the town of Basrah; the last to the north-eastward dividing this from Minawi: the inhabitants are potters, mat-makers, and such poor craftsmen.

B.

Howaizah, a town of Khuzistan, and, at this time, capital of the province. It has a fort, in which only the deputy, and a garrison of the King of Persia, reside: the native governor

and his suite are lodged without the bounds of this citadel; the town is, however, surrounded by a fortified wall.

C.

Jezâyir, the name of an extensive district, composing many stations of importance. The first is the village of the Beni-Mansur, Bir Homaid, and Nahr Antar, which are the principal positions. It is said to be pierced by three hundred canals, among which are Nahr Saleh, Deyar Beni Asad, Deyar Beni Muhammed, Fathiyah, Kalaa, Nahr Sebaa, Batinah, Maussuriyah, Iskanderiah, Igarah, and others which we cannot enumerate. The northern boundary of this district is Kut. e. Mua.

It is inhabited by various tribes, who have successfully assisted the Imperial arms; and, having revolted from the government of Basrah, had succeeded in establishing an independent power against the united forces of Basrah and Hawaizah. This independence was preserved, not less from the bravery of the inhabitants, than from the great difficulty of approaching their insular positions, in the broad expanse of the Euphrates, over the district in which they are situated, until the age of Ali Pasha, who reduced the country, and so broke the spirit of its population, that, from that hour, the tameness of the people of Jezâyer has become a trite proverb.

D.

Hussein Pasha was the son of Ali Pasha, son of Afrasiab, of Dair, a town north-west of Basrah, remarkable for a tower

of such colossal dimensions and beautiful structure, as to appear the work of supernatural beings.

E.

Minawi, a fort situated between Basrah and the river Euphrates; bounded on the north-west by the canal Ashar, and on the south-east by the canal of Manawi.

F.

Sarragi is one of the most flourishing crêeks in the neighbourhood of Basrah.

G.

The district of the Junub, or South, comprehends many noble canals, and populous villages and towns, between Basrah and the sea, on the south-eastern shore of the Euphrates. The successive order of the principal towns is this; commencing from Basrah, Minawi, Sarraji, Hamdan, Mahaigaran, Yusafâe, Abu 'l Khasib, Faryadhi, Nafali, Zam, Mutârowdaat; Khist, Shabbânî, which is the last of the flourishing dependencies of Busrah.

H.

Shemâl, the north-western districts above Basrah, to a small town known by the name of Shirsh, comprehending many villages; as Robat, Maagal, Dan, Nahr Omar, and Shirsh. This district is still more flourishing than that of Jûnub.

I.

The family of Kawâwizah are so named from Sheïkh Muhammed Al Kawwâz, the head of a religious sect of Mohammedans in great repute in Basrah, whose mausoleum still exists in the suburbs. Sheikh Abdul-sallâm, the founder of this family, and the favourite pupil of the Sofi sage, was surnamed, from his preceptor, Kawwâz; and transmitted a name to his posterity, which distinguishes its members at the present day. Sheikh Abdul-sallâm had a numerous posterity, among whom are the following: Muhammed, Mahmedd, Taha, Ali, Dhu-l-Kafal, Saleh, Músleh, Junard, &c.

K.

Sahâb, a place on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, near Koorna, whence caravans load and depart for Hawaizah.

Suâib, a station with a fort of the same name, opposite to Koorna, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and near Sahab.

MEMOIR

ON

THE RUINS OF AHWAZ;

READ BEFORE THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, JUNE 14, 1828; AND PRINTED IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF THEIR TRANSACTIONS.

It having been my intention, for some time, to visit a few of the ruined cities whose decay has converted realms to deserts, strewing them with fragments of arches and pillars, that once arose in majesty over heroic warriors, but now impede the path of the shepherd and his flocks; I set out from the shores of the Euphrates, in September 1826, for the purpose of examin-

ing the remains of the once celebrated city of Ahwâz, situated ninety-two miles (horizontal distance) north-east of Bussorah, on the banks of the noble river Karoon, in the province of Khuzistan, the ancient Susiana.

As there are only a few ruined villages, unworthy the traveller's and reader's notice, until you arrive in its immediate vicinity, I shall pass over the time that elapsed during my journey; it is sufficient to state, that the whole country is a flat, bare, monotonous, and uncultivated waste, abandoned by its former inhabitants to rapacious animals, and to still fiercer hordes of wild and ferocious Arabs, who occasionally pitch their flying camps when in search of pasturage or plunder.

Previous to my quitting Bussorah, I procured Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, as a guide and for reference; it being the only book I have seen, in our language, that attempts any description of Ahwâz.

Of the foundation of this city, I have it not

in my power to assign the date. Its name occurs very early in the annals of Islam. The specimens too of its architectural decorations, which I brought from the ruins, are decidedly Moslim, bearing inscriptions in no character but the early Kufic, or Arabic language; a remark equally applicable to the coins and gems usually found there; with the exception of a few small intaglios on cornelian, or Oriental onyx; the only evidences of an antiquity more remote than the era of Mohammed. All these circumstances would appear to lead to one of two conclusions; either that the remains now seen are those of a city founded by the first Khalifs of the Ommiad dynasty, or that additions had been made to the edifices already erected by the Persians, on a site antecedent to the epoch of the advance and victories of the adherents of Islam. The zenith, however, of its prosperity was attained under the earlier Khalifs of the house of Abbâs; nor did it long survive their fall.

Etymology also favours the view above

taken: Ahwâz as well as Hawaizah,* another town of Khuzistan,† are two Arabic forms of one root. The earlier name of the former, according to Abulfeda, in his Geographical tables, was *Hormuzîn Shehr*, strictly a Persian appellation; a compound too, evidently not of modern date; while the various districts of *Khuz*, whence *Susia* or *Cissia*, were combined under the common name *Al Ahwâz*, and their capital was designated by the Arabic term *Suq ul Ahwâz*, that is to say, the mart or emporium of *Al Ahwâz*, or of the districts.

The illustrious Arabian geographer above quoted, says, that "Ahwâz is one of the largest districts of the province of Khûzistân.

* Hawaizah signifies a small collection of inhabitants; the diminutive of the root *Huz*—"People; bodies of men." It is also the name of a town of Susiana, of a date much subsequent to that of the city of Ahwâz; and, like it, raised on the site of a more ancient place.

† The Persian Dictionary, "Borhâni Pâtâo," under the word *Khûz*, and Khûzistân, states that these are both names of a country in Persia, of which Shuster is the capital; and that the first signifies, also, sugar; and the second, any country productive of the sugar-cane; or a manufactory of this article.

The river of Ahwâz waters the shores of the city, in longitude 75°, latitude 31°, and passes westward to Asker Makrain, in longitude 76°, latitude 31° 15′. It nearly equals the Tigris in breadth; and its banks are adorned with gardens and pleasure-houses, and enriched by extensive plantations of sugar-cane, and other valuable productions of the vegetable kingdom."*

According to Samaani, as stated in his Biographical and Genealogical Dictionary, its pristine fame and prosperity no longer existed, any more than its proud palaces, and learned, luxurious and wealthy citizens, in the middle of the twelfth century of our era.†

The notice of the earliest date is extracted from the *Tohfat ul Alem*; a modern work, composed for the information, and at the desire, of the celebrated Mîr Alem of Hyderâbâd, by Mir Abdul Latîf, a learned relative, and native of Shuster, the present capital of Susiana;

* *Abulfeda Taqwîn ul Bildan*; *cap. de Fluviis.*

† *Kitâb ul Ansâb in voce Ahwâz.*

which commences with such an excellent general description of the province, that I shall submit it to my readers without farther preface or apology.

"The city of Ahwâz is one of the largest cities of the earth, and in Khuzistan; or indeed, in the other kingdoms of the world, few are to be seen equal to it in size and extent. What are now thick and impervious woods, were once extensive plantations of sugar-cane. Large vats and manufactories of sugar were also in existence; and mill-stones, and other implements of the art of the sugar-baker, are, even now, so profusely scattered over the ancient site, that it is impossible to number them.

"During the dynasty of the Abbassides, the city was at the height of its prosperity. Its extent in breadth is supposed to be forty parasangs, throughout which ruins and remains of magnificent edifices, baths, caravanseras, and mosques, are strewed. Extensive as they may appear, the inhabitants were always in litiga-

tion regarding houses and ground, as spaces sufficiently open and ample could not be had for their accommodation. These Khalifs, within whose dominions was comprehended most of the habitable world, named this city 'the source of food and of wealth;' the inhabitants of which, in their riches and luxury, excelled the rest of the world.

"The river of *Dizfûl*, a stream nearly equal in size to that of the *Kuran*, enters the latter below *Bandikir*; and here the united waters are termed the *river of Ahwâz*. The *Bund* of *Ahwâz* restrained their course, so that the waters completely overflowed the land, and not a drop was lost to the aid of cultivation. The intermediate country was covered with plantations of sugar-cane; and the sugar was conveyed to every part of the world, as none of foreign manufacture was then imported into the territories of Persia or Rûm.

"Thus the inhabitants became rich and luxurious, and renowned throughout the earth. As wealth, however, is the parent of pride and

insubordination, these wealthy citizens revolted from the Khalifs; until Ali ebn Muhammad, the Astrologer, surnamed 'Prince of the Zangis,' from having recruited his army among the Zangis or Nubian slaves of Khûzistân and Basrah, took the field with a powerful force, and contended for years against the monarchs of the House of Abbâs.

"In the course of these hostilities, the people served in the ranks of one or other of the rival armies, and were swept away in numbers by the chances of war, until, in the end, the Khalifs triumphed. The rebellious spirit of the people, however, had so disgusted these princes, that they ceased to favour or embellish the city; and the remaining population, left to itself, fell into private feuds and bickerings. Anarchy and oppression ensued; the weaker fled, industry ceased, and, with it, the usual resort of commercial adventurers, and the production of wealth. The last poor remnant of this numerous, wealthy, and luxurious people abandoned, in despair, their plantations,

and the other sources of their riches and destructive pride, and sunk into desolation.

"The ruins are covered with heaps of stone and fallen masonry; and the inhabitants of the small modern town are repaid for their labour, in searching among the ruins, after the periodical falls of rain, by the discovery of gold and silver coins, medals, and sculptures. Several gold coins of the Abbassides were shown to me, while residing in Basrah, by an old inhabitant of Ahwâz. They bore on one side an impression, in the Kufic character, of the usual creed; on the margin of the other, the names of the four first Khalifs; and in the central field, the titles of *Alkâdir billah*, A.H. 381. Skeletons are not unfrequently disinterred. The heat of summer, and of the *Sammûm*, is here excessive."*

With the exception, perhaps, of *Seistân*, no province of Persia is less known, or more worthy of investigation, than Khûzistân. To the antiquary, particularly, it presents many

* *Tohfat ul Alim in voce Ahwâz.*

objects of interest, in the ancient remains at *Ahwáz*, *Shuster*, *Susa*, and *Dizfúl*. It may also put forth the additional claim of possessing the last remnant of the Chaldees and Sabæans, the oldest people upon earth, — the last depositaries, not improbably, of the earliest philosophical and theological systems of the human race; though, less fortunately, the originators also of its most complicated mythology, and most degrading superstitions; the professors at once of the purest notions of an undivided Godhead, and the source of the impurest heretical leaven which has deformed Judaism, Christianity, or Mohammedanism.

A considerable portion of their earliest literature is preserved; and it is not improbable that, with competent aid, their hitherto mysterious doctrines may be satisfactorily elucidated. Major Taylor is fortunately in possession of their most important works, and of the valuable services of their Chief Priest; and has made such progress in the language, as to have already translated some of the most

interesting chapters of their *Sidrâ Rabbâ*, or book of Scripture, entitled by the erudite and indefatigable Norbery, '*Liber Adami.*'

So far the general description of Arabian authors.—I shall now proceed to give the result of my own investigations on this interesting spot. The modern town of Ahwâz occupies but a small portion of the site of the old city on the eastern bank of the Karoon; and exhibits a mean and solitary appearance, contrasted with the immense mass of ruin that rears its rugged head behind. Its houses are built entirely of stone brought from the ruins; and it can only boast of one decent building,—a mosque apparently modern.

The population at present does not exceed sixteen hundred souls. Considerable traces are discernible of the *bund* that was thrown across the river; chiefly, if not entirely, for the purposes of irrigation. A part of the wall is still standing, remarkable for its high state of preservation; it is in many places ten feet high, and nearly as much in breadth;

while it extends upwards of one hundred feet in length, without any intermediate breach. Indeed, on examination, I found many single blocks of stone measuring eight and ten feet.

The river dashes over the *bund* with great violence, washing with its surges the stony base, and, accelerated by a strong current always running to the southward with rapidity, is projected into a fall; the sound of which is to be heard from a very great distance. Boats of every description are obliged to discharge their goods previous to an attempt at passing over; and, even then, the passage is attended with much danger. I understood that they are frequently swamped.

The Karoon is one hundred and sixty yards in breadth at each side of the dyke, and of great depth; therefore the shallowness opposite the town is caused by the great mass of masonry below the surface. The remains of this *bund* are the portions which Kinneir appears to assign to the remnants of the palace of Artabanes, the last of the Parthian kings. Upon what authority he asserts that *any palace*

was erected *across the river*, or that it was the winter residence of Artabanes, I am at a loss to discover. Kinneir also mentions that many of the excavations in the rocks bore the exact form and dimensions of a coffin: for these sepulchral recesses I looked in vain; although, towards the south end of the town, there are several singular cavities, and a few water-mills erected between the rocks; the latter probably constructed since his visit.

The remains of a bridge I found where he places it, namely, behind the town; and here too commences the whole mass of ruins, extending, at least, ten or twelve miles in a south-easterly direction; while its greatest breadth covers about half that distance. I could not find any person who had been to the end of these ruins. According to the inhabitants, their extent would occupy a journey of two months. Although this is doubtless an exaggeration, it may be as well to mention, as an hypothesis, that they extend to the neighbourhood of Ram Hormis.

All the mounds are covered with hewn stone,

burnt brick, tiles, and pottery. The first which I ascended I found nearly two hundred feet high. In many parts flights of steps are plainly discernible, in good preservation; and at the base of this mass of ruins I dug into some graves, and found stones measuring five and six feet in length. Hence it was I brought away several stones with inscriptions upon them in the Kufic character, and others with fret-work,—all indicative of an era subsequent to the Mohammedan. I likewise found some Kufic coins in gold and silver; one was nearly a thousand years old, and is as fresh in appearance as if it had been only just from the mint.

In every direction I found vast heaps of circular flat stones, perforated in the centre, apparently used for the purpose of grinding grain; though rather *colossal*, indeed, for such a purpose, as they generally measured four, five, and six feet in diameter; and some exhibited characters upon them. The above-mentioned mound varies in height and breadth, and extends so far, that my eye could not comprehend its limits: it is the first of magnitude upon the

plain. Five hundred yards to the west of this is a ruined edifice, entirely of stone, measuring fifty feet in height by twenty in breadth. Here are several flights of steps, which may, without difficulty, be traced to its summit, although they are much mutilated, and injured by exposure to the atmosphere.

About a mile to the east, separated by a deep ravine, stands an immense pile of materials, consisting of huge blocks of stone, brick, and tile of various colours. The Arabs who accompanied me, said it was the remains of a palace. Its ascent is gradual, but fatiguing from the numerous furrows which have been, apparently, worn by water in its passage. The height is, at the lowest estimate, one hundred feet from the plain below. On its summit there are many stone foundations and pavements, as fresh as if only recently laid down, together with several rounded troughs, some of which were of Persepolitan marble in its rough state.

From numerous caverns we started large troops of jackals; and I picked up a number of porcupine quills. I found it impossible to

descend on the opposite side, the face being nearly perpendicular, and exhibiting many frightful chasms. At the base of this pile, the camel's-thorn sprang up luxuriantly, and considerably relieved the landscape, the general dreariness and sterility of which were gloomy beyond all conception.

This ruin is about three miles from the eastern bank of the river. Proceeding onwards for eight hundred yards, in a northerly direction, a conical mound is very conspicuous: its circumference is six hundred feet: the sides exhibit the remains of walls nine feet in thickness. At its foundation, I traced a beautiful wall of masonry for twenty-one feet, which, without doubt, formed the front of some building, finely executed, and very little injured by time: it joins another ruined heap, covered with vestiges and fragments of glazed tile, a coarse kind of crystal, pieces of alabaster, and bits of glass.

Fifty yards in a direct line east, seven square stone cisterns, sixteen feet long, and proportionably deep, are still to be seen, highly polished internally, and in a perfect state. These

remains of ancient splendour throw a mournful shade over the desolate scene. Six or seven aqueducts are to be traced from a ravine, which probably conducted the water to these cisterns.

Several mounds of masonry form one connected chain of rude, unshapen, flaked rock, lying in such naturally-formed strata, that the very idea that any part of the materials had been accumulated by human labour, from a distant site, is scarcely admissible. The soil on which these ruins rest is peculiarly soft and sandy: the country does not become rocky until the immediate vicinity of Shushter; and even water-carriage thence is attended with considerable toil and expense. Yet the height of these mountainous ruins and misshapen masses induces me to think, that the site must have been by nature elevated at the time the city was built; although, from the flatness of the surrounding country, I should be inclined to oppose such a conjecture; more particularly as there are no mountains between the Shut-ul-Arab and the Bucktiari chain, which is seen hence running N.W. and S.E.

Let me not be supposed to exaggerate, when I assert that these piles of ruin, irregular, craggy, and in many places inaccessible, *rival* in appearance those of the Bucktiari, and are discernible from them, and for nearly as many miles in an opposite direction.

It is a singular fact, that almost every mound I passed over was strewed with shells of different sorts and sizes. I observed them also on the water's edge, along the banks of the Karoon: we may therefore suppose, that at some former period, the river, or more probably canals from it, flowed through the city. Glass, of all colours, is equally abundant; and fragments of alabaster and pottery are remarkably fresh.

Many of the kiln-burnt bricks that lie on the surface of the mounds, appear once to have borne some written character; but exposure to the weather, and probably occasional inundations caused by the melting snows of the adjacent mountains, have nearly effaced all traces of it; though, as I have already mentioned, the character on the hewn stone is as clear and plain, as if only just from the sculptor's hands.

No bitumen was observable on the bricks; a circumstance I much regretted, as it would have afforded a strong proof in favour of the antiquity of the spot. I however met with several small intaglios, generally denominated *seals*, and probably used as such; similar to those found at Hamadân, Nineveh, and Babylon.* The round perforated stones that I have alluded to, must, from the Arabian accounts already quoted, have belonged to sugar manufactories. Their numbers are countless. I followed them for a great distance in successive rows, in small dry rivulets; resting so firmly together, that it would have occupied the labour of several days to have removed any of them.

The Arabs are always digging up and removing stones, for the purposes of building; yet their expenditure has been nothing when compared to the vast quantities of stone and brick that are scattered about. Perhaps they have excavated a space of three hundred yards,

* The villagers assured me they had procured many engraved gems when digging for bricks; and that the Jews purchased them at good prices, to sell to the *Faringheez*.

but certainly to no greater extent, which is a proof how abundant the hewn stone is, for there is not a house in the town built of any other material. I am convinced, that as large a city as any now existing, might be erected from the ruins that I saw. I was prevented examining many mounds of great magnitude, that extend to the verge of the horizon, from not being able to prevail upon any one to accompany me. The Sheikh, it appears, did not deem it safe to permit me to penetrate far into the desert.

The ruins of Ahwâz extend likewise, for a considerable distance, on the western bank of the river, in a northerly direction, and exhibit the same appearance as the mounds on the eastern side; though the former are not to be compared with these in point of magnitude. The *bund* that was thrown across, seems to have nearly connected the city together; but, as there is abundant room for conjecture, and much ground for idle supposition, it is better, and wiser, merely to state what is visible: this I have attempted to do; though, perhaps, with

a feeble pen. Nevertheless, whatever opinions may be entertained regarding this once famous capital of a flourishing province, we must concur in ranking it lower, in point of antiquity, than either Persepolis or Susa—to say nothing of the "mighty Babylon"—or, how could we persuade ourselves, that Alexander the Great, strict and attentive in observation, as enterprising and successful in war, should have navigated the Karoon, and have made no mention of the city, when comparatively insignificant towns attracted his notice? I repeat, it is my firm conviction, that this city, now one vast heap of ruins, was erected long since the days of that illustrious warrior.

I cannot refrain here from observing how much we have to regret, that the able and ingenious author of the Geographical Memoir on Persia should not more minutely have investigated and described the ruins of this city; particularly as he informs us, that he was encamped six months on the banks of the Karoon.

From the above description, though inadequate to convey a just and accurate idea of

the extent and magnitude of these ruins, it will be seen how worthy they are of a diligent investigation, and what a favourable opportunity was lost by Kinneir, who was travelling under the *immediate auspices* of the Ambassador,—a circumstance, in itself, peculiarly calculated to secure a due degree of attention and protection from the natives of the district.

To conclude, it must ever be a subject of deep regret, that the difficulty of exploring the remains of any spot of antiquity should be heightened by the passions of a people disposed to turbulence and riot. The desolation which, under the influence of a barbarous Government, has for years been advancing over Susiana, one of the finest provinces of the East, whether as regards soil and climate, or the facilities of commercial intercourse, irresistibly impresses on the mind the mutability of earthly dignity.

BABYLONIAN WRITING.

In a preceding page of this work, I have cursorily adverted to the characters stamped upon the Babylonian bricks. I may be permitted to say a few words upon this undeciphered writing. This character is known by the names of cuneiform, nail-headed, arrow-headed, as descriptive of its shape; and Babylonian, or Persepolitan, according to the sites where it has been discovered. Inscriptions in this character have been found upon the sides of mountains and monuments, at the greatest and oldest cities of the East—Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, Susa, Van, Persepolis, Nakshi-Roustam, Murgaub, the ancient Pasagardæ, Babylon, and Nineveh: and as this style of writing is found in all these places, we cannot but be fully convinced, that it is the primeval character of the most ancient people in the world.

The inscriptions upon the bricks found at ancient Babylon have a remarkable resemblance to those that are engraved upon the pillars and columns at Persepolis; a circumstance which proves a very near affinity between these two most ancient nations, and affords a strong additional argument for the high antiquity of those superb and splendid remains.

That learned and indefatigable antiquarian, M. Grotefend, when speaking of this character, observes, that the elementary forms of the cuneiform writing are only two, the wedge and the angle, being devoid of curves. The general direction of the wedges, are with their points downwards, or towards the right, either in perpendicular, horizontal, or sloping positions. The rectangles have always one direction, their opening being turned towards the right. These characteristics show how an inscription ought to be held, and mark that it follows a horizontal, and not a perpendicular line. The strokes so frequently drawn between the rows of characters sufficiently show this rule: though there are exceptions, in compliance with any peculiar form on the tablet of the inscription; for instance, on small cylinders, where the letters appear in an upright column.

There are three kinds of these letters, all of which are to be seen at Persepolis, and Susa, on every piece of sculpture where an inscription is exhibited; and then it is repeated three times, each repetition being in one of the three different species of character, though all of the same genus. The three species of cuneiform, or arrow-headed writing, are

distinguished by the greater or less multiplying of the two fundamental forms, and also their positions. The first contains the greatest mingling of the fundamental forms; the second shows more horizontal wedges, and fewer angles than the first, and differs from the third by possessing fewer sloping wedges, and none that cross each other. The third exhibits more sloping wedges than the second, and also admits their crossing. All the cuneiform inscriptions of Persia are much less complicated than those on the Babylonian bricks and tablets.

From the result of these observations, it appears that the characters are alphabetical, and to be read, like our own, from *left* to *right*. Mr. Price, in his dissertation upon the antiquities of Persepolis, remarks—"From what has come under my notice, I have reason to think there are still books that have been preserved by the learned or curious, from high antiquity down to the present time, which books might contain historical or other tradition in the Sabean character: the arrow-head, I should suppose, was confined to sculpture, or grave subjects, and seldom used in manuscripts. But, after all, it amounts to the same, whether a letter or word be formed with arrow-heads, minims, or other strokes; the powers would be the same in either, if the writing were not so ornamental in one shape, as it might be in the other.

"The Pahlavi alphabet was introduced into Persia by the Magi, for religious purposes; some of its letters were at first partly modelled from the Sabean characters; but in the course

of time the primitive forms changed, and little of the Sabean remained in them. Notwithstanding the Sabean alphabet was nearly abandoned by the Persians, the greater part of its letters have continued in use among other nations, by being adopted in their alphabets. There seems to have been a very early intercourse between the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Persians, and the Tartars, if one may judge by analogy of words and signs in common to their primitive languages, and by some of their alphabets."

There are various opinions with respect to the origin of writing; but I believe no one has ever succeeded in producing sufficient proof as to what age it was discovered in, nor who was the inventor of this useful art. It is not unlikely that writing was known to the inhabitants before the Flood, because the arts must have attained to perfection among such an immense population as had spread itself over the face of the earth, during an interval of more than two thousand years from the creation.

The Antediluvians may not only have excelled in most of the arts known to us, but in many that sank with the people to rise no more. After the Deluge, those arts most connected with personal comfort and convenience, would be the first used and improved. Building, one of the first, must have been brought to considerable perfection when the Tower of Babel was commenced; but the folly of the people, in their vain attempt to carry it up to Heaven, proves that philosophy and astronomy had made no great figure among them at that time, though the inferior arts may have attained to

perfection. Their method of burning bricks has perhaps never since been equalled.

Some foundations have been discovered at Babylon, which, from their thickness and depth in the earth, are allowed, by men of judgment, to be part of the foundations of the Tower of Babel. The bricks are square, and not unlike floor-bricks: some of them have come under my inspection; each has a stamp upon it, containing characters which have some resemblance to those of the Persepolitan. This circumstance might lead us to suppose the Antediluvians may have used the same sort of characters. These bricks, being in the foundations, must have been moulded previous to the confusion of tongues; therefore if the words they contain were deciphered, they would elucidate the question, as to which among the number that came from Babel, was the Antediluvian language; or, in the general confusion, whether no entire remains of it were left.

Some may consider the Hebrew to have been the primitive tongue, because it was used by the chosen people; some may plead for the Sanscrit, on the ground that Sanscrit words are found in every language on earth; while others may support the Chinese, for its paucity of sounds and its simplicity of construction. But, after all arguments that can be adduced on the subject, the conclusion rests entirely on conjecture and uncertainty.

The order of the Sabean alphabet agrees nearly with that of the Hebrew; but whether the Hebrew borrowed its order of the Sabean, or the Sabean of the Hebrew, is a point I am

not able to decide; but, judging from comparison, I think it is likely the Hebrew borrowed its alphabet and order from the Sabean, because a few of its letters have an affinity to some of the Sabean letters. The Sabean bordering on the shape of the Persepolitan, which having an affinity to the Babylonian, renders it possible that the Persepolitan may be derived from the Babylonian alphabet, which is the highest antiquity we can trace.

"The instrument that forms the basis of all the letters or characters in the Persepolitan inscriptions, is the head of an arrow—to a martial people, one of the most familiar objects. There is a singular coincidence in some of the Persepolitan numerals, in common with the Roman and Chinese; the letter ≺ formed of two arrow-heads joined together obliquely, represents the letter H; which letter, being the fifth of the Sabean, as well as of the Hebrew alphabet, represents the number five; and so in the Persepolitan: change the position of it, and you have the Roman V, the numeral for five. Two of these placed together, form the letter X, the Roman numeral for ten; the same in Persepolitan and in Chinese. There is another coincidence with regard to the letters *a* and *m*, which can scarcely be the effect of accident; the letters *a* and *m* rather appear to have been derived from the Persepolitan alphabet.

It is useless, however, in this place, wandering farther into a wilderness of conjecture, without any hope of penetrating into the real origin of an art which is lost in the abyss of time; and which, if not invented by Moses, the

presumed author of the book of Job, we are utterly at a loss to know to whom to ascribe the wonderful discovery.

NOTE.—"The ordinary buildings were constructed of bricks, *baked in the sun only;* these were in their nature loose and friable, and easily reduced to their original elements. The walls and public edifices in general consisted of bricks *burned in the furnace;* these, being hard and durable, were carried away for the purpose of constructing Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, Bussora, and all the other great cities that rose to eminence upon the decline of Babylon. When, in addition to all this, it is considered that this same system of depredation has been going on for above 2000 years, in a country which, from its situation, has ever been the favourite region for the erection of great cities by the successive tyrants of Asia, and yet that such immense masses of them, as described by recent travellers, should still remain in the neighbourhood of Hillah, it must excite his wonder, that, instead of the enormous heaps of ruins described in their pages, any remains at all of the Babylonian capital should at this day exist."—*Appendix to Observations on the Ruins of Babylon: by the Rev. Thomas Maurice,* pp. 200, 201 4to.

NOTE.—"We may be permitted to conjecture, that the Euphrates once pursued a course different from that which it now follows, and that it flowed between the pyramid of *Haroot* and *Maroot,* and the mound and ruins already mentioned as half a mile farther to the west. The present course of the river would appear to justify this conclusion;

for it bends suddenly towards these mounds, and has the appearance of having formerly passed between them. Should this conjecture be admitted, then will the ruins just mentioned be found to answer the description given by the ancients of the materials, size, and situation of the two principal edifices in Babylon."—*Kinneir's Geographical Memoir oft he Persian Empire*, page 279.

AN ITINERARY,

FROM BUSSORAH TO THE CITY OF TABREEZ, OR TAURIS,

By SEMAVAH, MESHED ALI, KUFA, HILLAH, BAGDAD, AND SULIMANIAH,

PERFORMED BY THE AUTHOR IN THE SUMMER OF 1828.

ITINERARY.

FROM BUSSORAH TO BAGDAD.

Quit the modern city of Bussorah, or Basrah, by the Zobeir Gate.

H.	M.	
1.	30.	Over a barren desert, pass some watch-towers on the left, and also a pretty tomb.
—	15.	See the ruins of Old Basrah.
—	5.	On an eminence to the left, a very ancient lofty pillar, and projecting wall, being the remains of the Musjed of Ali, the nephew of Mohammed. Keppel has erroneously stated this ruin to be the mosque of Ali *the Barmecide*. Right, a tamarisk and well.
—	5.	Observe the remains of old Mohammedan foundations and pavements, and cross the dry bed of a canal.
—	5.	The clean town of Zobeir.

H.	M.	
—	30.	Cross an aqueduct in good preservation.
—	15.	Vestiges of wall, and a bastion of the old city.
35.	—	The town of Sooksheeook, standing on the western bank of the Euphrates, over a dreary, bladeless, flat desert, without a single undulation of surface, and no water. The plain being elevated only fifteen feet above the level of the river, it is in autumn overflowed, and impassable for horsemen. Sooksheeook is inhabited by the Montefik Arabs. Until lately it was the Northern limit of the powerful Sheikh of Montefidge, whose control now extends to Semavah. The inhabitants of Sooksheeook breed and export some of the finest
30.	—	horses in Irâk.
		The large village of Semavah, on the river's bank. Country still uncultivated. The male inhabitants of this town are extremely tall and hideous; the fe-
2.	—	males, beautiful, and much secluded.
		Cross from Irâk into Mesopotamia, by the Euphrates, which is here nearly fordable, and only fifty yards broad. Its bed is drained to irrigate this part of Mesopotamia, which is covered with the richest pasturage, on a soil producing all the necessaries of life. Its innumerable canals communicate with a river so happily situated, as to command a ready commerce with all the towns on the Euphrates and Tigris; and its countless villages, surrounded by water, and luxuriantly shaded by thick shrubberies, are very thickly

H. M.

peopled by the Khezâil Arabs, who are civil and hospitable to strangers.

6. — The deserted town of Romaheyyeh, cut by the Euphrates, which is near this one hundred yards wide. The dead bodies from Lemloon are here conveyed over in Kooffahs, on their way to Messhed Ali.

4. — The village of Sorah, on the western side of the river. Plantations of tobacco. Country, flat, dreary, and uninteresting.

12. — The old, decayed city of Kufa, founded by Omar. Four miles to the westward, Messhed Ali stands conspicuous. It is governed by a Zabit, who is subject to the Pasha of Bagdad; and yields a great annual revenue, exacted of those who journey hither, as well as by the dead who are brought from every part of Asia.—The usage of disposing of the corpses deserves notice. Those relatives who can only afford a limited donation for the supposed salvation of the departed, are looked upon disreputably; and the defunct is, in consequence, thrown headlong into a deep well dug for the purpose; but those whose offerings are liberal, can get their dead easily interred; until others, equally rich, and ambitious for a sacred spot, arrive; then the remains of the first are removed from its grave, and cast into the well, to make room for those of the second. —The natives here are very jealous and uncivil to strangers. The author has reason to remember the

H.	M.	
		place, as he was unceremoniously attacked, and nearly shot; it was only upon his invoking the protection of Ali, that he was permitted to continue his journey.
		Over an ugly desert extends a succession of mounds composed of the usual vestiges of brick, tile, &c. some of which are of considerable elevation. These ruins stretch to within two miles of the western boundary of the site of Babylon.
8.	—	The town of Hillah, situated upon the banks of the Euphrates, and occupying a part of the site of ancient Babylon.
12	—	The city of Bagdad. Already described, and governed by a Pashaw of three tails. The rate of travelling this journey may be averaged at four miles an hour.
109.	45.	

BAGDAD TO SULIMANIAH.

The population of Bagdad is at present estimated at sixty thousand souls.

Quit Bagdad by a gate at the North, and proceed in that direction, through much cultivation, with the Tigris, and many rich productive gardens on the left.

1. — Pass the remains of the lines thrown up by Nader Shah, in the year A. D. 1735, on the Persians besieging the seat of the Caliphs.

H.	M.	
5.	—	The village of Howesh, situated upon the banks of the river, amidst a thick palm-tree wood. In the month of June, the richness and luxuriance of the country were remarkably striking.
2.	—	A poor village in the midst of a date-grove.
—	30.	Cross the dry bed of a canal.
—	25.	Cross a very deep canal.
1.	—	Extensive masses of earth, brick, and tile, evidently indicating the remains of a town. The whole is surrounded by a deep moat. General direction of the road, N. 50° E.
2.	—	Cross a very broad and tortuous canal: the country flat and uninteresting. Road due E.
1.	25.	The ruined, uninhabited village of Delli-Abbas, called by the Arabs *Guntarah*, from a decaying causeway on the spot, spanning a branch of the river Diala, or Pasitigris. Two miles to the right is a considerable group of mounds.
2.	—	Commence ascending the Hamrine mountains: the roads unusually rugged.
2.	—	Descend into an immense oval plain, and cross a kind of island surrounded by ditches, which only contain water after rain, or at the season of increase. At a distance on the left is a good brick bridge of six arches, built by Ali Pasha several years ago.
4.	—	Traverse the plain, which is swampy, in a direction N. 10° E. and reach the village of Kara uppa, situated beneath a chain of hills.

H.	M.	
—	10.	Cross a stream, said by the natives to be a branch of the Diala.
—	5.	Ascend bleak and barren hills, over a stony road.
—	45.	Descend into a plain.
1.	—	Cross an old bridge.
—	5.	Cross a torrent bed.
3.	—	The small but pretty town of Kifri, at the entrance of a ridge of rocky mountains.
2.	—	Cross bare, ugly, and sulphureous mountains. Twelve miles hence are naphtha springs, and about twenty miles off are salt mines.
4.	—	A tomb on the left. Road E.
—	15.	Cross the bed of a river, and pass a deserted hamlet. Cross a mountain torrent.
12.	—	The village of Dolàn, over a singularly wild, romantic, and mountainous district, infested by Koordish tribes, who are under no subjection whatever; the country is finely clothed with forests of oak, and walnut-trees.
—	15.	Ascend a most difficult and fatiguing pass.
1.	30.	A village on the brink of a tremendous precipice.
—	5.	Descend a very abrupt chasm.
2.	5.	Pass over an undulating, well cultivated country, consisting of pretty insulated elevations, separated by small plains, and watered by clear meandering brooks, with little scattered hamlets, beautifully shaded by cherry and other trees. The whole is surrounded by lofty mountains.

H.	M.	
—	5.	Sulimaniah, the capital of Koordistan, standing in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, called the Sharizool (the ancient Siozuros) chain, was built by Suliman Pasha, of Bagdad. Mahmoud Pasha, its present governor, is nominally under the authority of the Bagdad government, although the revenue is reaped by the Persian. The city contains eight thousand inhabitants; but the Pasha's officers pretend that they amount to fifteen thousand, nearly all of whom are Koords. The traveller will find a good lodging in the house of M. Morandi, an Italian doctor, who is much attached to the English. The time occupied from Dolan to this city, cannot convey an idea of the distance, the greater part of the road being very rugged and difficult to pass. The usual rate of travelling through Koordistan is about four miles an hour.
48.	55.	

SULIMANIAH TO TABREEZ.

Proceed, on quitting the capital of southern Koordistan, in an easterly direction, over a stony road and stupendous mountains, crossing at intervals small torrents, which form pretty cascades, and give the rocks a fine polish by their action. In the ravines, between the mountains, are shady shrubberies of apple, pear, cherry, walnut, mulberry, oak, and

H.	M.	
		poplar trees, encompassed by vines growing in the greatest luxuriance, and watered by murmuring brooks.
8.	—	The village of Shamalah, situated in a ravine between the mountains.
—	10.	A stream with many dark-coloured snakes.
		The appearance of the mountains becomes extremely beautiful; their verdant peaked summits and sloping sides are covered with oak-trees; and much cultivation is here apparent.
—	50.	Cross a river running west, through a rocky chasm, into a small triangular plain, at a little distance from the road.
2.	—	A forest of oak-trees.
1.	—	Descend into a plain.
2.	—	The village of Bostan.
		Continue in a northerly direction, across a circular valley, through which a stream playfully meanders in a direction east and west.
—	15.	Ascend a very steep range of hills. The country uncultivated, and covered with low bushes.
—	45.	A thick wood. The road runs due north.
1.	—	A very difficult descent into an oblong plain.
5.	—	The small town of Banna, situated in a pretty plain beneath the mountains. The population is Koordish, amounting to one thousand souls, under the *walee* of Sennah.
2.	—	The road winds east, through a valley well cultivated with grain.

H. M.

— 15. A village at the front of a range of hills, the inhabitants of which are a mixture of Koords and Persians. The road turns abruptly to the left, or north. There is likewise a road to Sauk Bullak, or the cold springs, as its name implies. This route is infested by a band of lawless Koords, who have always evinced a habit of defiance and resistance to the Turkish and Persian governments. The author encountered a party of this uncivilized horde, who attacked him and his guards so violently with spears, that in self-defence they were compelled to use their pistols, and in a few minutes unhorsed three of their assailants, who were left for dead.

The road leads over a strata of rock, which is very difficult to pass.

2. — Enter a gorge in the mountains, upon whose summits are patches of snow; and follow the course of a torrent.

8. — A poor village in a cultivated plain, surrounded by conical hills. Cross an ugly plain in a north-easterly direction.

— 15. A village upon an eminence to the left of the road.

— 15. Another, upon a hill. The country now becomes more level, and the road much pleasanter.

— 30. Cross a stream, the water of which is almost absorbed in the irrigation of the plain.

4. — A chain of hills on the right, at whose base the road winds. On the left, a river runs parallel with the road.

H.	M.	
3.	—	Observe the remains of a stone dyke erected across a river which runs into the Lake Ouroomia. Quit the bank of the river, and proceed over a large barren plain.
2.	—	The town of Miundow in the plain. Here are three mosques, two caravanserais, and a well-supplied bazaar. According to the estimated distance of the natives, Lake Ouroomia is about ten hours' journey to the left, or north. The course of the road N. 30° E. by compass.
4.	—	A straggling village at the extremity of the plain.
—	10.	Ascend some hills.
—	20.	A distant view of Lake Ouroomia, over an uninteresting plain.
2.	—	Descend into a valley, and cross a bridge over a rapid stream.
—	30.	Enter the large town of Bonow, or Binaub, standing in the midst of verdant meadows, rich orchards, and smiling gardens, affording abundance of fruit of every kind. On the east, a lofty range of mountains bounds the view, which is extremely beautiful.
—	15.	Ascend from the town, by a steep road running along the foot of the mountains on the right. Nine miles distant on the left, the north-eastern shore of the lake interrupts the view of cloud capped heights.
7.	—	After a very long and tedious defile, a gradual descent into a plain. The lake about two miles distant.

H.	M.	
—	30.	A small hamlet embosomed in gardens. Proceed along a partially cultivated plain, over a stony road, with the hills on the right, in a direction N. 30° E.
5.	—	A large village.
2.	—	Enter Tabreez, or Tauris, the capital of Azerbijan, the ancient Antropatia, and residence of his Royal Highness Abbas Mirza, heir apparent to the Persian throne.
65	—	

LIST OF JOURNEYS

PERFORMED BY THE AUTHOR IN THE YEARS 1826, 1827, 1828.

1. From Bussorah to the ruins of Ahwâz, in Khuzistan, the ancient Susiana.

2. From Bussorah to the ruins of Shapour, by Bushire, Kauzeroon and Shiraz.

3. From Bussorah to Babylon, by Bagdad and Hillah.

4. From Bussorah to Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, by the Tigris.

5. From Bussorah to Bagdad, by Irâk Arabia, Ul Jezira, and Mesapotamia.

6. From Bagdad to Erbill, the ancient Arbella.

7. From Bagdad to the ruins of Nineveh, by Kerkouk, the ancient Corcura, vel Demetrius.

8. From Bagdad to Tauris, the capital of Azerbijan, by Sulimaniah and Lake Ouroomia.

9. From Tauris to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia.

10. From Tiflis to St. Petersburgh, by Caucasus, Novo-Tcherkask, Tula, and Moscow.

11. From St. Petersburgh to Lubec, Hamburg, and London.

THE END.

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